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BURMESE EQUIVALENTS OF THE NAMES OF ANIMALS IN THE RANGOON ZOO.

Sometime ago, the Secretary to the Victoria Memorial Park, sent me a list of the animals in the Zoo with a request that I would translate their English names into Burmese for the benefit of visitors unacquainted with English. The problem is not so simple as it looks. Apart from such well-known names as ဆင် for the elephant, ခြံ့ for the rhinoceros and so on, it has not been easy to decide which names should be translated literally and which names should be transliterated in the case of animals whose habitat is not Burma. Generally speaking, I have avoided transliteration, as I do not wish to give names unfamiliar to Burmans who are not acquainted with English. Thus I prefer အမေရိကန်ကျား to ပူးမား for the Puma. And I have not resorted to translation, unless I have been satisfied that to my knowledge there are no corresponding Burmese names. To discover the Burmese names or to coin new ones for the different animals whose habitat is Burma has therefore been my main difficulty.

I consulted Professor Meggitt of the University of Rangoon, who, I knew, was collecting Burmese names of animals. And he has been kind enough to place at my disposal his index-cards of Burmese names of animals collected from Blandford's *Mammalia* and to lend me the six volumes of Baker's *Birds* containing many Burmese names of birds. I took full advantage of the help given in these two books, and the Burmese names in the accompanying list marked with asterisks are those recorded in them and approved by myself. But these two books present problems of their own. Thus in Blandford's *Mammalia*, the bear cat or binturong is registered as မျောက်ကျား, which I disregard in favour of the literal term ဝံ့ကြောင်. For the leopard cat, four names are given ကျားသစ်, သစ်ကြောင်, သစ်ကျတ်, ကျားကျတ်, of which သစ်ကြောင် does duty also for the clouded leopard. The jackal is given as မြဲခွေး, which is the accepted name for the fox. I prefer ခွေးအူ. Phayre's leaf-monkey is recorded as မျောက်မျက်ကွင်းမြဲ and မျောက်ညို so I give the latter name to the mandrill. မျောက်လှောင် and မျောက်မောင်းမ are both names given for the slow loris. The pig-tailed monkey is rendered by မျောက်ပုတီး and မျောက်ဝံ so I give the latter name to Celebes black monkey. The large Malay squirrel is rendered ရှဉ့် and လင်းသက် I reserve the latter name for the black hill squirrel.

In Baker's *Birds*, the generic name ငန်း is given to the grey lag goose, and တောငန်း is the name for the bar-headed goose, which I have called ငန်းခေါင်းကျား. The bronze-winged jacana is rendered ဒီ. I call it မောင်ထွန် which Baker gives to kora or the water-cock. ဥဆူ the accepted term for the cuckoo is given by Baker to the Malay koel. Then Baker has ရှု for six varieties of the green pigeon, ဗွတ်ကလုံ for six varieties of the bulbul, ရှစ် for ten varieties of the pheasant, ငုံ့ for nine varieties of the quail. I fail to identify the Burmese word, which Baker transliterates for the Indian shama as *tai-tha-laik-swe*.

Where I have translated, I have **sometimes** been literal as ကညာကြီးကြာ for the demoiselle crane, *grus virgo*. Sometimes I have used Burmese terms suggestive of some characteristic of the animal as သားပိုက်တောင် for the Kangaroo, *the animal that carries its young* or the colour or size of the animal, as ကျေးခေါင်းပြာ for Bauer's parrakeet and ရှင်ကြီး for the common guinea fowl. I am not responsible for the scientific terms, which are printed exactly as I received them from the Secretary to the Victoria Memorial Park.

The result of this little piece of research is published, with the permission of the Trustees of the Victoria Memorial Park, with a view to invite expert opinion and I shall be grateful to receive criticisms or suggestions for improvement.

PE MAUNG TIN.

BURMESE EQUIVALENTS OF THE NAMES OF ANIMALS IN THE RANGOON ZOO

African Lion

Felis leo

Hab.—Africa.

အာဖရိကံ ခြင်္သေ့

နေရာ—အာဖရိက

Bengal Tiger

Felis tigris

Hab.—Bengal.

ဘင်္ဂလား ကျား

နေရာ—ဘင်္ဂလား

Burmese Tiger

Felis tigris

Hab.—Burma.

ကျား

နေရာ—မြန်မာ

Spotted Leopard

Felis pardus

Hab.—India, Burma, Malayan Peninsula.

သစ်တက်ကျား

နေရာ—အိန္ဒိယ၊ မြန်မာ၊ ဗမာ၊ ကျွန်းဆွယ်

Black Leopard

Felis pardus

Hab.—India, Burma, Malayan Peninsula.

သစ်နက်

နေရာ—အိန္ဒိယ၊ မြန်မာ၊ ဗမာ၊ ကျွန်းဆွယ်

Puma

Felis concolor

Hab.—America.

အမေရိကံ ကျား

နေရာ—အမေရိက

Hunting Leopard

Cynaeturus jubatus

Hab.—S. Africa and India.

သစ်မုဆိုး

နေရာ—တောင်အာဖရိက၊ အိန္ဒိယ

Fishing Cat

Felis viverrina

Hab.—India, Burma, S. China and Malay Peninsula.

ကြောင်တံငါ

နေရာ—အိန္ဒိယ၊ မြန်မာ၊ တောင်တရုတ်၊ ဗမာ၊ ကျွန်းဆွယ်

Leopard Cat

Felis bengalensis

Hab.—India, Burma.

* သစ်ကြောင်

နေရာ—အိန္ဒိယ၊ မြန်မာ

Jungle Cat

Felis chaus

Hab.—India, Burma.

တောကြောင်

နေရာ—အိန္ဒိယ၊ မြန်မာ

Small (or Lesser) Indian Civet

Viverricula malaccensis

Hab.—India, Burma and Malay Peninsula.

ကြောင်ကတိုး (ဝါ၊ ကြောင်နံ့သာ)

နေရာ—အိန္ဒိယ၊ မြန်မာ၊ ဗမာ၊ ကျွန်းဆွယ်

Indian Palm Civet

Paradoxurus niger

Hab.—Burma, Bengal and
Malayan Peninsula.

ကုလား*ကြောင်နဂါး

နေရာ—မြန်မာ၊ ဘင်္ဂလား၊ မလ္လာကျွန်းဆွယ်

Malayan Palm Civet

Paradoxurus hermaphraditus

Hab.—Burma and Malayan
Peninsula.

မလ္လာ*ကြောင်နဂါး

နေရာ—မြန်မာ၊ မလ္လာကျွန်းဆွယ်

Bear Cat or Binturong

Arctictis binturong

Hab.—India, Burma, Malayan
Peninsula.

ဝံကြောင်

နေရာ—အိန္ဒိယ၊ မြန်မာ၊ မလ္လာကျွန်းဆွယ်

Common Indian Mongoose

Herpestes mungo

Hab.—India, Burma.

မြွေပါ

နေရာ—အိန္ဒိယ၊ မြန်မာ

Striped Hyaena

Hyaena striata

Hab.—India.

ခွေးကျား

နေရာ—အိန္ဒိယ

Indian Wolf

Canis pallipes

Hab.—India.

ဝံပုလွေ

နေရာ—အိန္ဒိယ

Jackal

Canis aureus

Hab.—India.

ခွေးအ

နေရာ—အိန္ဒိယ

Wild dog

Cyon dukhunensis

Hab.—India, Burma.

*တောခွေး

နေရာ—အိန္ဒိယ၊ မြန်မာ

Ferret Badger

Meles taxus

Hab.—India, Burma.

*ကြောင်ဥကျည် (ဝါ၊ ကြောင်ပြန်)

နေရာ—အိန္ဒိယ၊ မြန်မာ

Common Otter

Lutra vulgaris

Hab.—India, Burma.

*ဖျံ

နေရာ—အိန္ဒိယ၊ မြန်မာ

Panda or Catbear

Aelurus fulgens

Hab.—Himalayas.

ကြောင်ဝံ (ဝါ၊ ဝက်ဝံမြီးရှည်)

နေရာ—ဟိမဝန္တာ

BURMESE EQUIVALENTS OF THE NAMES OF ANIMALS IN THE RANGOON ZOO.

Sloth Bear <i>Melursus ursinus</i> Hab.—Throughout the hilly and jungle parts of the peninsula of India.	သစ်ဝံ နေရာ—အိန္ဒိယတောင်များနှင့်တောများ
Himalayan Bear <i>Ursus torquatus</i> Hab.—Forest region of the Himalayas, eastwards in the Assam ranges extending into Burma, Pegu and Tennasserim.	ဟိမဝန္တာ * ဝက်ဝံ နေရာ—ဟိမဝန္တာတောင်အာသံတောင်များ ကစ၍အ ရှေ့ဘက်မြန်မာပြည် ပဲခူး တနင်္သာရီအထိ
White handed Gibbon <i>Hylobates lar</i> Hab.—India, Burma, and Malay Peninsula.	* မျောက်လွှဲကြောင် နေရာ—အိန္ဒိယ၊ မြန်မာ၊ ဗမာ၊ ကျွန်းဆွယ်
Siamang <i>Hylobates syndantylus</i> Hab.—Burma and Malay Peninsula.	ဗသျှူး မျောက် နေရာ—မြန်မာ၊ ဗမာ၊ ကျွန်းဆွယ်
Hanuman, <i>Semnopithecus entellus</i> Hab.—India.	ဟနုမန် နေရာ—အိန္ဒိယ
Phayre's Leaf Monkey <i>Semnopithecus phayrei</i> Hab.—Burma.	* မျောက်မျက်ကွင်းဖြူ နေရာ—မြန်မာ
Rhesus Monkey <i>Macacus rhesus</i> Hab.—India, Burma.	မျောက်စပ် နေရာ—အိန္ဒိယ၊ မြန်မာ
Macaque Monkey <i>Macacus cynomolgus</i> Hab.—India, Burma.	* မျောက်တံငါ နေရာ—အိန္ဒိယ၊ မြန်မာ
Lion-tailed Monkey <i>Macacus silenus</i> Hab.—Cochin, Travancore.	မျောက်ခြင်္သေ့မီး နေရာ—ကိုချင်း၊ တရုတ်ကိုး
Burmese pigtailed Monkey <i>Macacus leoninus</i> Hab.—Burma.	မျောက်ပုတီး နေရာ—မြန်မာ
Bonnet Monkey <i>Macacus sinicus</i> Hab.—Southern India.	မျောက်နီစပ် နေရာ—တောင်အိန္ဒိယ

Syke's Monkey <i>Cercopithecus albogularis</i> Hab.—Africa	အာဖရိကံ မျောက် နေရာ—အာဖရိက
Mona Monkey <i>Cercopithecus mona</i> Hab.—Africa.	မိုနာ မျောက် နေရာ—အာဖရိက
White collared Mangeby Hab.—Africa.	မျောက်လည်ပတ်ဖြူ နေရာ—အာဖရိက
Sooty Mangaby <i>Cercocebus fuliginosus</i> Hab.—W. Africa.	မျောက်ကျပ်ခိုး နေရာ—အနောက်အာဖရိက
Arabian Baboon <i>Cyanocephalus hamadryas</i> Hab.—Arabia and Abyssinia.	အာရေဗီယာ မျောက်မောင်းမ နေရာ—အာရေဗီယာ၊ အာဖိစီနီယ
Anubis baboon <i>Cyanocephalus anubis</i> Hab.—Africa.	မျောက်မောင်းမ နေရာ—အာဖရိက
Drill <i>Cyanocephalus leucopheus</i> Hab.—Africa.	မျောက်ဒန်းစီး နေရာ—အာဖရိက
Mandrill <i>Cyanocephalus mormon</i> Hab.—Africa.	မျောက်ညို နေရာ—အာဖရိက
Capuchin Monkey <i>Cebus capuchinus</i> Hab.—South America.	မျောက်သူတော် နေရာ—တောင်အမေရိက
Celebes Black Monkey <i>Cercopithecus niger</i> Hab.—Celebes Island.	မျောက်မဲ နေရာ—စီလီဖီကျွန်း
Pigtailed Monkey <i>Macacus leoninus</i> Hab.—Malayas.	* မျောက်ပုတီး နေရာ—ဗသျှူး
Black-headed Lemur <i>Lemur Brunneus</i> Hab.—Madagascar.	မျောက်နှာတံရှည် နေရာ—မဒဂတ်စကာ

BURMESE EQUIVALENTS OF THE NAMES OF ANIMALS IN THE RANGOON ZOO.

Slow Loris

*Nycticebus tardigradus*Hab.—India, Burma, Sumatra, Java
etc.

*မျောက်လှောင်

နေရာ—အိန္ဒိယ၊ မြန်မာ၊ စုမတြ၊ ဂျာဝ၊ အစရှိ

Large Indian Squirrel

Sciurus Indicus

Hab.—India.

*ရှင်ကြီး

နေရာ—အိန္ဒိယ

Malay Porcupine

*Acanthon brachyurus*Hab.—Bengal, Burma and Malayan
Peninsula.

ဗသျှူး*မြ

နေရာ—ဘင်္ဂလား၊ မြန်မာ၊ ဗသျှူးကျွန်းဆွယ်

Rabbit (common)

Lepus cuniculus

*ယုန်

Guinea Pig (common)

Cavia porcellus

*ပူး

Common Genet

Genetta vulgaris

Hab.—N. Africa and Asia.

တောကြောင်ပြောက်

နေရာ—မြောက်အာဖရိက၊ အာရှ

Gayal

Bos frontalis

Hab.—India, Burma.

နွားနောက်

နေရာ—အိန္ဒိယ၊ မြန်မာ

Banting or Tsine

Bos sondaicus

Hab.—Burma.

*စိုင့်

နေရာ—မြန်မာ

Nilgai

Boselaphus tragocamelus

Hab.—India.

ဆတ်ကုလား

နေရာ—အိန္ဒိယ

Black Buck

*Antelope cervicapra*Hab.—Throughout the plain of
India except Lower Bengal.

ဒရယ်နက်

နေရာ—အောက်ဘင်္ဂလား၊ ဗဟပါး

အိန္ဒိယလွင်ပြင်

Sambhur Deer

Cervus aristotelis

Hab.—India, Burma.

*ဆတ်

နေရာ—အိန္ဒိယ၊ မြန်မာ

Spotted Deer

Cervus axis

Hab.—Central and Southern India,

သမင်ပြောက်

နေရာ—အိန္ဒိယအလယ်နှင့်တောင်ပိုင်း

Hog Deer <i>Cervus porcinus</i> Hab.—India, Burma.	*ဒရယ် နေရာ—အိန္ဒိယ၊ မြန်မာ
Thamin Deer <i>Cervus eldii</i> Hab.—Burma.	*သမင် နေရာ—မြန်မာ
Formosan Deer <i>Cervus taevnus</i> Hab.—Formosa.	ဖေဖိုမိုးဆံ သမင် နေရာ—ဖေဖိုမိုးဆံ
Mouse Deer <i>Tragulus meminna</i> Hab.—India, Burma.	ဂျီလှောင် နေရာ—အိန္ဒိယ၊ မြန်မာ
Barking Deer <i>Cervus muntjæ</i> Hab.—India, Burma and Malay Peninsula.	ဂျီ နေရာ—အိန္ဒိယ၊ မြန်မာ၊ ဗမာ၊ ကျွန်းဆွယ်
Malayan Tapir <i>Tapirus indicus</i> Hab.—Malay Peninsula, in Tenneserim, Lower Siam, Tavoy and Mergui.	ကြွသူတော် နေရာ—ဗမာ၊ ကျွန်းဆွယ်၊ တနင်္သာရီ၊ အောက်ယိုဒယား၊ ထားဝယ်မြို့
Indian Rhinoceros <i>Rhinoceros unicornis</i> Hab.—India.	*ကြွ နေရာ—အိန္ဒိယ
Grevy Zebra <i>Equus grevy</i> Hab.—Africa.	မြင်းကျား နေရာ—အာဖရိက
Burmese elephant <i>Elephas Indiens</i> Hab.—Burma.	*ဆင် နေရာ—မြန်မာ
White Whiskered Civet <i>Paradoxurus hermaphroditus</i> Hab.—India, Burma, Malayas.	ကြောင်ပါးမုန်းမြို့ နေရာ—အိန္ဒိယ၊ မြန်မာ၊ ဗမာ
Black-striped Wallaby <i>Macropus ulabatas</i> Hab.—Australia.	သားပိုက်ကောင်ငယ် နေရာ—သြစတြေးလီးယား
Grey Kangaroo <i>Macropus gigantus</i> Hab.—Australia.	သားပိုက်ကောင် နေရာ—သြစတြေးလီးယား

BURMESE EQUIVALENTS OF THE NAMES OF ANIMALS IN THE RANGOON ZOO.

Rufus Kangaroo <i>Macropus rufus</i> Hab.—Australia.	သားပိုက်ကောင်နီ နေရာ—သြဝဠာလီယ
Marsh crocodile <i>Crocodilus palustris</i> Hab.—India, Burma.	မိကျောင်း နေရာ—အိန္ဒိယ၊ မြန်မာ
Red-billed Blue Magpie <i>Urocissa occipitalis</i> Hab.—India, Burma and Siam.	* ငှက်တော်ငြာ နေရာ—အိန္ဒိယ၊ မြန်မာ၊ ယိုးဒယား
Jungle Babbler <i>Crateropus canorus</i> Hab.—India, Burma.	တောဆွဲလဲ နေရာ—အိန္ဒိယ၊ မြန်မာ
Red-vented Bulbul <i>Molpastes Bengalensis</i> Hab.—Bengal and Bihar.	ဗွတ်ဖင်နီ နေရာ—ဘင်္ဂလား၊ ဗီဟာ
Indian Grackle or Hill Myna <i>Eulabes intermedia</i> Hab.—India.	* သင်္ဃလိကာ နေရာ—အိန္ဒိယ
Black-headed Myna <i>Temenuchus pagodarum</i> Hab.—India, Burma.	* ဆက်ရက် ခေါင်းမဲ။ နေရာ—အိန္ဒိယ၊ မြန်မာ
Pekin Robin <i>Erythacus philomela</i> Hab.—China.	တရုတ် သပိတ်လွယ် နေရာ—တရုတ်
Magpie Robin <i>Cotsychus macroura</i> Hab.—India, Burma.	* သပိတ်လွယ် နေရာ—အိန္ဒိယ၊ မြန်မာ
Orange Weaver <i>Pyromelana franciscana</i> Hab.—W. Africa.	စာဘူးတောင်း လိမ်မော်ရောင် နေရာ—အနောက်အာဖရိက
Java sparrow <i>Ploceus baya</i> Hab.—India, Burma, and Malayan Peninsula.	ဂျာဝါ စာကကေး နေရာ—အိန္ဒိယ၊ မြန်မာ၊ မလားယုန်ဆွယ်
Shama <i>Cittocincla mocroura</i> Hab.—India, Burma.	ကုလား သပိတ်လွယ် နေရာ—အိန္ဒိယ၊ မြန်မာ

Indian Pitta
Pitta brachyura
Hab.—India.

ငှက်ဆတ်မြီးတို
နေရာ—အိန္ဒိယ

Cuckoo
Cuculus soneratti
Hab.—India, Burma, and Malayan
Peninsula.

ဥပြာ
နေရာ—အိန္ဒိယ၊ မြန်မာ၊ ဗမာ၊ ကျွန်းဆွယ်

Black-headed Munia
Munia malacca
Hab.—India, Burma.

တောစာခေါင်းပဲ
နေရာ—အိန္ဒိယ၊ မြန်မာ

Spotted Munia
Uroloncha Punetulate
Hab.—India, Burma and Ceylon.

တောစာပြောက်
နေရာ—အိန္ဒိယ၊ မြန်မာ၊ သီဟိုဠ်

Purple Wood Pigeon
Alsocomu paniceus
Hab.—India Burma and Malayas.

ချိုးလင်းပြာ
နေရာ—အိန္ဒိယ၊ မြန်မာ၊ ဗမာ

Canary
Serinus canarius
Hab.—Canary Islands.

ကနေရီ စာဝါ (ဝါးသင်္ဘောစာဝါ)
နေရာ—ကနေရီကျွန်း

Imperial Green Pigeon
Carpophaga aenea
Hab.—India, Burma.

* ငှက်ငနွား
နေရာ—အိန္ဒိယ၊ မြန်မာ

Common Crowned Pigeon
Goura corouata
Hab.—New Guinea.

ခိုဦးစွန်း
နေရာ—နယူးဂီနီ

Nicobar Pigeon
Cataenas nicobarica
Hab.—Nicobar Island.

နီကိုဗာ * ခို
နေရာ—နီကိုဗာကျွန်း

Pied Imperial Pigeon
Myristicivora bicolor
Hab.—Andaman, Nicobar, Malayas,
and Australia.

ငှက်ငနွားပြောက်
နေရာ—တကျွန်း၊ နီကိုဗာ၊ ဗမာ၊
သြစတြေးလီယ

Fan-tailed Pigeon
Hab.—India.

ခိုကော
နေရာ—အိန္ဒိယ

Bengal Green Pigeon
Crocopus phaenicopterus
Hab.—Northern India.

* ဂူ (ဝါးဘုမ္မတီး)
နေရာ—မြောက်အိန္ဒိယ

BURMESE EQUIVALENTS OF THE NAMES OF ANIMALS IN THE RANGOON ZOO.

Thickbilled Green Pigeon

Treron nepalensis

Hab.—Himalayas, India and Burma.

ငှက်ဝါးထူ
နေရာ—ဟိမဝန္တာ၊ အိန္ဒိယ၊ မြန်မာ

White Dove

Columbus albus

Hab.—India, Burma.

ချိုးဖြူ
နေရာ—အိန္ဒိယ၊ မြန်မာ

Spotted Dove

Tuttur suratensis

Hab.—India and Ceylon.

* ချိုးလည်ပြောက်
နေရာ—အိန္ဒိယ၊ သီဟိုဠ်

Bronze Winged Dove

Calcohaps indica

Hab.—India, Burma and Ceylon.

ချိုးတောင်နီ *
နေရာ—အိန္ဒိယ၊ မြန်မာ၊ သီဟိုဠ်

Barred Ground Dove

Geopilia striata

Hab.—Tennasserim, Malayas.

ချိုးညို
နေရာ—တနင်္သာရီ၊ မလေး

Burmese red turtle Dove

Oenopopelia tranquebarica humilis

Hab.—Burma.

* ချိုးနီပု
နေရာ—မြန်မာ

Rufous turtle Dove

Streptopelia turtur

Hab.—India, Burma.

ချိုးနီ
နေရာ—အိန္ဒိယ၊ မြန်မာ

Lesser Sulphur crested Cockatoo

Cacatua sulphurea

Hab.—Moluccas.

ကန့်မောက်ကတ္တဝါ
နေရာ—မိုလုကာစ်

Rose crested Cockatoo

Cacatua moluccensis

Hab.—Moluccas.

ကတ္တဝါ နှင်းဆီခေါင်း
နေရာ—မိုလုကာစ်

Roseate Cockatoo

Cacatua roseicapilla

Hab.—Australia.

ကတ္တဝါ နှင်းဆီ
နေရာ—သြစတြေးလီယ

Bare-eyed Cockatoo

Cacatua gymnopsis

Hab.—Australia.

ကတ္တဝါဖြူ
နေရာ—သြစတြေးလီယ

Ring-necked Parrakeet

Palaeornis torquatus

Hab.—India, Burma.

* ကျေးကျွတ်
နေရာ—အိန္ဒိယ၊ မြန်မာ

Blossom headed Parrakeet <i>Palaeornis cyanocephalus</i> Hab.—India, Burma.	*ကျေးတမာ နေရာ—အိန္ဒိယ၊ မြန်မာ
Javan Parrakeet <i>Palaeornis fasciatus</i> Hab.—India, Burma.	ဂျာဝါ ကျေးကျွတ် နေရာ—အိန္ဒိယ၊ မြန်မာ
Red sided Eclectus <i>Eclectus pectoralis</i> Hab.—New Guinea.	ကျေးဘေးနီ နေရာ—နယူးဂီနီ
King Parrot <i>Aprosmictus scapulatus</i> Hab.—Australia.	ကျေးမင်း နေရာ—ဩစတြေးလီယ
Greater Vasa Parrot <i>Coracopsis vasa</i> Hab.—Australia.	ကျေးညိုကြီး နေရာ—ဩစတြေးလီယ
Black capped Lory <i>Lorius Lori</i> Hab.—New Guinea.	ကျေးခေါင်းမဲ နေရာ—နယူးဂီနီ
Chattering Lory <i>Lorius garrulus</i> Hab.—Moluccas.	ကျေးစကား နေရာ—မိုလုကပ်
Violet necked Lory <i>Psittacus riciniatus</i> Hab.—Moluccas.	ကျေးလည်ခရမ်းရောင် နေရာ—မိုလုကပ်
Rosella Parrakeet <i>Platycercus eximius</i> Hab.—Australia.	ကျေးနှင်းဆီ နေရာ—ဩစတြေးလီယ
Pennant's Parrakeet <i>Platycercus pennant</i> Hab.—Australia.	ကျေးကတ္တီပါ နေရာ—ဩစတြေးလီယ
Alexandrine Parrakeet <i>Palaeornis eupatrius</i> Hab.—India, China.	*ကျေးဖေါင်းကား နေရာ—အိန္ဒိယ၊ တရုတ်
Red-rumped Parrakeet <i>Psittacus haematonotus</i> Hab.—Australia.	ကျေးကျောနီ နေရာ—ဩစတြေးလီယ

BURMESE EQUIVALENTS OF THE NAMES OF ANIMALS IN THE RANGOON ZOO.

Cockatiel <i>Calopsittacus novae-hollandiae</i> Hab.—Australia.	ကျေးမောက်လူ နေရာ—သြစတြေးလီယ
Undulated Grass Parrakeet <i>Melopsittacus undulatus</i> Hab.—Australia.	မြက်ကျေးကျွတ် နေရာ—သြစတြေးလီယ
Yellow Budgerigar <i>Melopsittacus undulatus</i> Hab.—Australia.	ကျေးကျွတ်ဝါ နေရာ—သြစတြေးလီယ
Blue Budgerigar <i>Melopsittacus undulatus</i> Hab.—Australia.	ကျေးကျွတ်ပြာ နေရာ—သြစတြေးလီယ
White-eared Robin Hab.—China.	သပိတ်လွယ်နားဖြူ နေရာ—တရုတ်
Malayan Lorikeet <i>Loriculus vernalis</i> Hab.—Malay Peninsula, Sumatra and Java.	ကျေးရွာန်းထိုး နေရာ—ဗမာ့ကျွန်းဆွယ်၊ စုမတြ၊ ဂျာဝါ
Yellow-fronted Amazon <i>Chrysotis chrysocephala</i> Hab.—C. America.	ကျေးမျက်နှာဝါ နေရာ—အလယ်အမေရိက
Yellow cheeked Amazon <i>Chrysotis autumnalis</i> Hab.—Honduras.	ကျေးပါးဝါ နေရာ—ဟွန်ဒူရ
Blue Mountain Lory <i>Trichoglossus novaehollandae</i> Hab.—Australia.	တောင်ကျေးပြာ နေရာ—သြစတြေးလီယ
Red Lory <i>Lorius rubra</i> Hab.—Moluccas.	ကျေးနီ နေရာ—မိုလုကပ်
Bauer's Parrakeet <i>Psittacus Zonarius</i> Hab.—Australia.	ကျေးခေါင်းပြာ နေရာ—သြစတြေးလီယ
Purple capped Lory <i>Psittacus Atricapillus</i> Hab.—Moluccas.	ကျေးခေါင်းခရမ်းရောင် နေရာ—မိုလုကပ်

Red-whiskered Bulbul <i>Otocompsa emeria</i> Hab.—India, Burma.	* ဗွတ်ကလုံ နေရာ—အိန္ဒိယမြန်မာ
Muscovy Duck <i>Cairira moschata</i> Hab.—S. America.	မန္တာလီ ဝမ်းဘဲ နေရာ—တောင်အမေရိက
Mandarian Duck <i>Aix galericulata</i> Hab.—China.	တရုပ် ဝမ်းဘဲ နေရာ—တရုပ်
Brahminy Duck <i>Tadorna casarca</i> Hab.—India, N. Africa, Central Asia, Persia and Mesopotamia.	* ဟသံာ နေရာ—အိန္ဒိယ၊ မြောက်အာဖရိက၊ အလယ်အာရှ၊ ပါရှား၊ မယ်သောပိုးတာမြို့
Canada Goose <i>Bernicla canadensis</i> Hab.—Canada.	ကနေဒါ ငန်း နေရာ—ကနေဒါ
Grey Lag Goose <i>Anser cinerius</i> Hab.—Europe.	ငန်းပွဲ နေရာ—ဥရောပ
Bar-headed Goose <i>Anser indicus</i> Hab.—India, Burma and Central Asia.	ငန်းခေါင်းကျား နေရာ—အိန္ဒိယ၊ မြန်မာ၊ အလယ်အာရှ
Cotton teal <i>Nettapus coromandelianus</i> Hab.—India and Burma.	* ကရကတ် နေရာ—အိန္ဒိယ၊ မြန်မာ
Black Swan <i>Cygnus atratus</i> Hab.—Australia.	တောငန်းနက် နေရာ—ထြစ်ကြွေလီယ
Mute swan <i>Cygnus olor</i> Hab.—Europe, Africa, Asia.	တောငန်း နေရာ—ဥရောပ၊ အာဖရိက၊ အာရှ
Comb Duck <i>Sarcidiornis melanonota</i> Hab.—India, Burma and Ceylon.	* မောက်တုံး နေရာ—အိန္ဒိယ၊ မြန်မာ၊ သီဟိုဠ်
Common Teal <i>Querquedula crecca</i> .	* စပ်စလီ

BURMESE EQUIVALENTS OF THE NAMES OF ANIMALS IN THE RANGOON ZOO.

Spotted billed duck
Anas Paecilorhynca
Hab.—India, Burma.

ဝမ်းဘဲနှုတ်သီးကျား.
နေရာ—အိန္ဒိယ၊ မြန်မာ

Pin-tailed Duck
Dafila acuta
Hab.—Europe, Asia, and Africa.

ဝမ်းဘဲမြီးသွယ်
နေရာ—ဥရောပ၊ အာရှ၊ အာဖရိက

Wigeon
Mereca penelope
Hab.—India.

တောဝမ်းဘဲ
နေရာ—အိန္ဒိယ

Tufted Pochard
Fuligula fuligula
Hab.—India, China and Japan.

ဝမ်းဘဲခေါင်းမဲ
နေရာ—အိန္ဒိယ၊ တရုတ်၊ ဂျပန်

Red-headed Pochard
Aythya ferina
Hab.—India.

ဝမ်းဘဲခေါင်းနီ
နေရာ—အိန္ဒိယ

Egyptian Goose
Chenalopex aegyptiaca
Hab.—Africa.

အီဂျစ် ငန်း
နေရာ—အာဖရိက

Bronze winged Jacana
Metofridius Indicus
Hab.—India, Burma.

ဗောဏ်ထုပ်
နေရာ—အိန္ဒိယ၊ မြန်မာ

Golden Plover
Puvialis apricarius
Hab.—India.

ငှက်တလိုင်း
နေရာ—အိန္ဒိယ

Imperial Sand Grouse
Petrocles fasciatus
Hab.—Punjab, Bikanir, Guzrat,
Central India.

ရစ်ပု
နေရာ—ပန့်ဂျပ်၊ ဗီကနီယ၊ ဂုဇရတ်၊ အလယ်အိန္ဒိယ

Saras Crane
Grus antigone
Hab.—Asia.

* ကြိုးကြာ
နေရာ—အာရှ

Balaeric Crane
Balearica pavonina
Hab.—West Africa.

ကြိုးကြာညို
နေရာ—အနောက်အာဖရိက

Crowned Crane
Balearica chrysolelargus
Hab.—West Africa.

ကြိုးကြာဦးစွန်း
နေရာ—အနောက်အာဖရိက

Spotted billed Pelican

*Belecanus manillensis*Hab.—India, Ceylon, Burma,
Malayas.

ဝံဝို

နေရာ—အိန္ဒိယ၊ သီဟိုဠ်၊ မြန်မာ၊ မလေး

White Pelican

Pelecanus javanicus

Hab.—India, Burma.

*စက္ကဝက်

နေရာ—အိန္ဒိယ၊ မြန်မာ

Spoon Bill

Plataia Lencorodia

Hab.—India, Burma.

ဇွန်းနှုတ်သီး

နေရာ—အိန္ဒိယ၊ မြန်မာ

Black-headed Ibis

*Ibis melanocephalus*Hab.—India, Burma, Ceylon,
Malayas.

*ခရုစုတ်ခေါင်းမဲ

နေရာ—အိန္ဒိယ၊ မြန်မာ၊ သီဟိုဠ်၊ မလေး

Black-necked Stork

Xenorynchus Asiaticus

Hab.—India, Burma, Australia.

*ငှက်ကုလား

နေရာ—အိန္ဒိယ၊ မြန်မာ၊ သံစင်ကြေလိယ

Black Stork

Ciconia Niger

Hab.—India, Burma.

ငှက်ကျားနက်

နေရာ—အိန္ဒိယ၊ မြန်မာ

Purple Coot

Porphyrio Poliocephalus

Hab.—India, Burma.

မယ်ညို

နေရာ—အိန္ဒိယ၊ မြန်မာ

White-breasted Water Hen

Erythra phoenicura

Hab.—India, Burma.

*ကလူကွက်

နေရာ—အိန္ဒိယ၊ မြန်မာ

Chukar Partridge

*Caccabis chukar*Hab.—India, Tibet, Mongolia and
Northern China.

လွင်ပြင်ခါ

နေရာ—အိန္ဒိယ၊ တိဗက်၊ မွန်ဂိုလိယ၊ မြောက်တရုတ်

Himalayan Monaul Pheasant

*Lophophorus impeyarus*Hab.—In suitable localities through-
out the Himalayas.

ဟိမဝန္တာ* ရပ်

နေရာ—ဟိမဝန္တာ အဝှမ်းသင့်သောနေရာများ

Common Guinea Fowl

Numida meleagris

Hab.—India, Burma

Origin.—W. Africa

ရပ်ကြီး

နေရာ—အိန္ဒိယ၊ မြန်မာ

မူလ—အနောက် အာဖရိက

BURMESE EQUIVALENTS OF THE NAMES OF ANIMALS IN THE RANGOON ZOO.

Vulturine Guinea Fowl
Numida vulturina
Hab.—East Africa.

ရစ်ကြီးလင်းတ
နေရာ—အရှေ့အာဖရိက

White Guinea Fowl
Numida meleagris albus
Hab.—India, Burma
Origin—W. Africa.

ရစ်ဖြူကြီး
နေ—အိန္ဒိယ၊ မြန်မာ
မူလ—အနောက်အာဖရိက

Ring necked Pheasant
Phasianus torquatus
Hab.—China.

ရစ်လည်ကွင်း
နေရာ—တရုတ်

Gold Pheasant
Thaumalea picta
Hab.—China.

ရွှေရစ်
နေရာ—တရုတ်

Burmese Silver Pheasant
Euplocamus lineatus
Hab.—Burma.

* ခါရစ်
နေရာ—မြန်မာ

Amherst Pheasant
Theumalea amherstiae
Hab.—China.

တရုတ် ရစ်
နေရာ—တရုတ်

Tragopan Pheasant
Ceriornis ceriornis
Hab.—Himalayas.

တောင်ရစ်
နေရာ—ဟိမဝန္တာ

Argus Pheasant
Argus giganteus
Hab.—Tennasserim, Malayan
Peninsula, Sumatra and Siam.

မင်းဒေါင်း
နေရာ—တနင်္သာရီ၊ မလှားကျွန်းဆွယ်၊
စုမတြ၊ ယိုးဒယား

Indian Pea fowl
Pavo cristatus
Hab.—India.

* ဒေါင်း
နေရာ—အိန္ဒိယ

Adjutant
Leptoptilus argala
Hab.—India, Burma.

* ဌက်ကြီး တုံးစပ်
နေရာ—အိန္ဒိယ၊ မြန်မာ

Peacock Pheasant
Polyplectron chinques
Hab.—Asam, Sylhet, Pegu extending
to Burma and Siam.

* ဒေါင်းကုလား
နေရာ—အာသံ၊ စီလဟတ်၊
ပဲခူးက ယိုးဒယားအထိ

Hill Partridge
Arboricola torqueola
Hab.—India, Burma.

* တောင်ခါ
နေရာ—အိန္ဒိယ၊ မြန်မာ

Red Jungle Fowl <i>Gallus ferrugineus</i> Hab.—Assam, Burma.	*တောကြက် နေရာ—အာသံ၊ မြန်မာ
Blue-winged Eclectus <i>Eclectus pectoralis</i> Hab.—Moluccas.	ကျေးတောင်ပြာ နေရာ—မိုလုကာစ်
Red and Yellow Macaw <i>Ara chloroptera</i> Hab.—South America.	ကြက်တောကြီး (နီဝါ) နေရာ—တောင်အမေရိက
Blue and Yellow Macaw <i>Ara ararauna</i> Hab.—South America.	ကြက်တောကြီး (ပြာဝါ) နေရာ—တောင်အမေရိက
Black Cockatoo <i>Psittacus aterrimus</i> Hab.—New Guinea.	ကတ္တဝါမ နေရာ—နယူးဂီနီ
Demoiselle Crane <i>Grus virgo</i> Hab.—Cold weather visitant to India from various parts of the old world.	ကညာကြီးကြာ နေရာ—ကမ္ဘာ့ဟောင်းမှ အိန္ဒိယသို့ ဆောင်းဥတုအခါ လာရောက်သည်
Emu <i>Dromaeus novae hollandae</i> Hab.—Australia.	ကုလားအုတ်ငှက်ပု နေရာ—ထြစ်ကြေလိယ
Ostrich <i>Struthio camelus</i> Hab.—Africa.	ကုလားအုတ်ငှက် နေရာ—အာဖရိက
Black Hill Squirrel <i>Sciurus giganteus</i> Hab.—Burma, Malay Peninsula.	လင်းရှဉ့် (ဝါ၊ * လင်းသက်) နေရာ—မြန်မာ၊ မလှားကျွန်းဆွယ်
Gargeny <i>Quarquedula circia</i> Hab.—Europe, Asia and S. Africa.	ကရကတ်တောင်ပြာ နေရာ—ဥရောပ၊ အာရှ၊ တောင်အာဖရိက
Greater White Crested Cockatoo <i>Cacatua cristata</i> Hab.—Moluccas and Ceram.	ကတ္တဝါမောက်ဖြူ နေရာ—မိုလုကာစ်၊ စီရန်
Green Monkey <i>Cercopithecus cynosurus</i> Hab.—W. Africa.	မျောက်မိမ်း နေရာ—အနောက်အာဖရိက

A PALAEOLITH FROM UPPER BURMA.

BY

T. O. MORRIS, M.Sc., F.G.S.

I. Introduction.

Many years have elapsed since stone implements of Neolithic and Eolithic types were first recorded from Burma; but, as far as I am aware, the palaeolith described below and illustrated on the accompanying plate is the first example of its kind that has been noted in this country.¹

II. Description.

The implement is a hand axe of Chelles type, fashioned from a block of silicified monocotyledonous wood. Large flakes have been struck boldly and skilfully from one face, but from the other only three or four chips have been removed. There has been no attempt to improve its symmetry by flaking smaller chips from the edges. Numerous silicified bundles of vascular tissue which penetrate the fossil wood give the flake-scars a rougher surface than is usual on European flint implements of similar type; otherwise the workmanship is identical. On the untrimmed face and on the butt of the implement the original rough weathered surface of the block remains, with a deep ochreous patination. The flake-scars have a mottled appearance, owing to the development of a creamy, passing into an ochreous, patination from the silicified vascular bundles as centres.

III. Locality and Geological Horizon.

The implement was found on a gently sloping tract of thin gravel, about 130 yards north-west of the Cairn which marks the south-eastern corner of Block 50N of the Singu Oilfield, in November 1930. The narrow valley of the Themathauk Chaung lies 100 yards to the north, the bed of the chaung at this point being about 50 feet below the level of the find. The implement is much larger than any of the pebbles in the gravel; a fact which, together with its unworn appearance, indicates that it had been dropped by its original owner at the spot where I found it, and had not been derived from some earlier deposit.

Similar gravel-bearing shelves, separated by deeply incised tributary valleys, occur at other places along both sides of the Themathauk, the Kyetsuyo, the Satpagyin, and other large chaungs which cross the axis of the Singu Anticline in this neighbourhood. They mark the position

1. For a discussion and a bibliography of these records see J. Coggin Brown, Journ. Burma Res. Soc., Vol. XXI (1931), pp. 33—43.

attained by the valley floors at a prolonged halt during an early stage in the development of the present river system. Lower, later terraces also occur; while the gravels and red earth, preserved in patches along the main heights of land between the chaungs, indicate a level of erosion much more ancient than that on which the palaeolith was lost and found.

During the past four years I have been able to trace a similar succession of river terraces and erosion platforms throughout the valleys of the Irrawaddy and Chindwin Rivers along several of their main tributaries. For their classification I have systematised various Burmese topographical terms in common usage, as follows :—

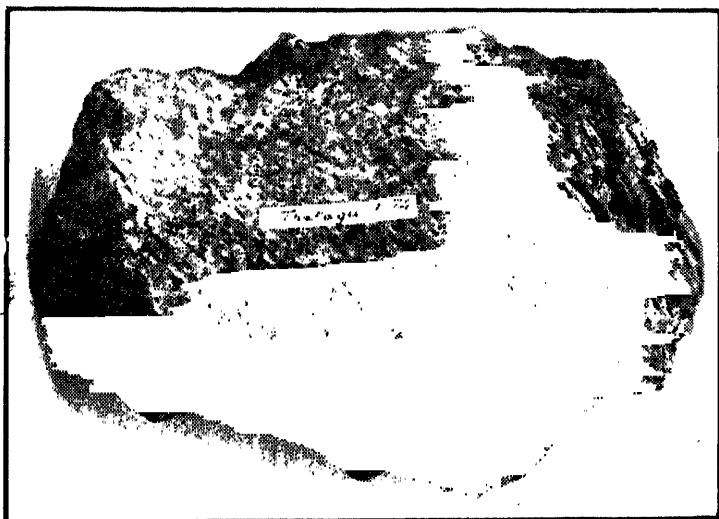
1. *Taungbyinmyit*.
2. *Taungbyin*—Eoliths occur down to this level.
3. *Konbyinmyit*—Palaeolith found on this level.
4. *Konbyin*—Neoliths occur down to this level.
5. *Lebyin*—Copper and Iron implements found on this level.
6. *Kaing*—The present day flood plain.

The Themathauk gravel terrace described above belongs to the Konbyinmyit series, and the occurrence of a palaeolith of Chelles type thereon indicates that the river system had reached this stage in its evolution before or during the time that Burma was inhabited by early Palaeolithic Man

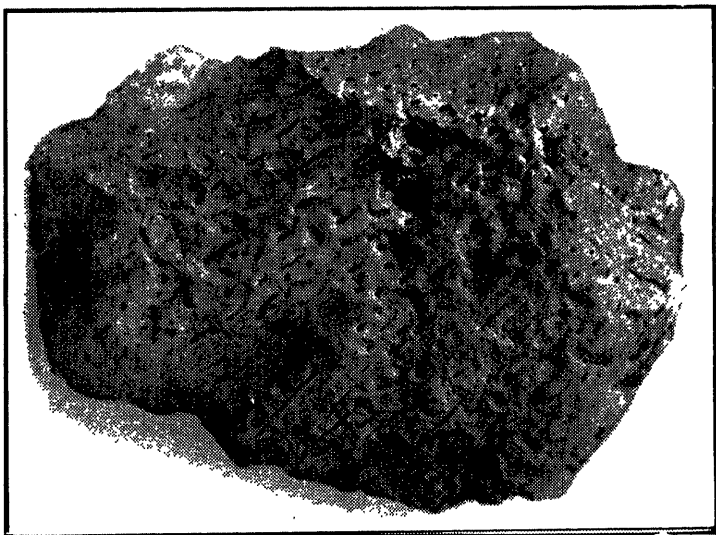
IV. Acknowledgment.

I am indebted to Messrs, Steel Bros. & Co., Ltd., Managing Agents for The Indo-Burma Petroleum Co., Ltd., for permission to publish this note.

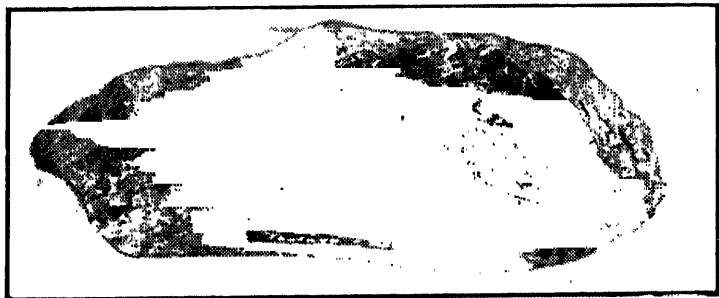
1



2



3



A PALAEOOLITH FROM UPPER BURMA.

1. Worked face.
 2. Unworked face.
 3. Side view.
- (Height : 6 ins.; Width : 4 ins.; Thickness : 2 ins.)



THE USE OF THE BRONZE DRUM IN SIAM.

REV. H. I. MARSHALL, M. A., D. D.

During the hot season of 1930 it was my privilege to visit several places of interest in Siam and it was a surprise to me to find the bronze drum of the Karen pattern (Vide plate IV, XIX, I, 1928.) is used in the monasteries and royal palace in that country. I had heard of the latter use, but the finding them in all the more important monasteries was not known to me before this visit.

At the Wat Yai, Pitsunaloke where is the big handsome bronze image of Buddha which is supposed to have turned the tide of the last Burmese invasion of Siam, I found four of these bronze drums. (*Wat* is the Siamese equivalent of *Kyaung* in Burmese.) These drums were mounted on stands. Ropes were put through the handles and they were suspended with the head uppermost and could be beaten in that position. One was fixed as the centre of a sort of table or taberet. This of course gave off no vibrations. It seemed to be used only as a stand. They were of the exact type of the Karen drums with the identical frogs (Two superimposed) and other decorations such as are found on the drums used in Burma.

In the various *Wats* which we visited in Bangkok we also found the same drums. In some cases they were gilded. Usually they were suspended so that they could be beaten, but occasionally they were used as taberets.

The Siamese name for the drum is *Mohora*.

Those found in the Royal Audience Chamber were placed at the rear of the large hall and I was informed were beaten by the attendants at the moment when the King appeared at the heavy velvet curtains which separated the main audience hall from the private chambers which were located back of the platform much in the same way that the retiring rooms of a theatre are back of the stage.

The manner of beating is different from that employed by the Karens. Instead of the heavy padded stick and the thin strip of bamboo, the Siamese use two padded drumsticks and begin beating in a rather rapid rhythm from the centre toward the edge, going about half way along the radius of the circular head, and then back again to the centre. This gives a variety to the tones produced.

At the National Museum in Bangkok there are several specimens of drums of various kinds. Of special remark are those which were dug up about two or three years ago at Tung Yang in the Pit Yit District. These are said by the Curator to be about 600 years old, and to have been used in warfare.

These are of a different type from any that I have seen. On the head in place of the frogs there are four snails. The centre is occupied by a twelve pointed star. There are fewer zones than in the Karen drum, but they have a number of the characteristic designs including the long birdlike figure but in this case it is larger and has a longer tail.

These drums are thought to have belonged to the La Wa who are said by Mr. P. Le May in his "An Asian Arcady" to have been the earliest known inhabitants of Siam, or at least in Northern Siam. As more virile peoples came in they were absorbed by their conquerors or scattered and took to the hills where they are still found in small groups under the names of La and also Wa. In some places in Northern Siam they are still called Lawa. Their origin has not yet been determined.

The workmanship on these drums was much less finished than that on the specimens of Cambodian drums which were in the museum. Altogether there were five of these drums and they were called *Mohora Tuk La Wa*.

One of these latter type was also very interesting. It was pointed out by the Curator as being the oldest drum. It also had a star in the centre with twelve points. It was slightly in basrelief. The zones were wider and had figures similar to those shown on plate I, Vol. XIX, I, 1928 of the Burma Research Journal. These seemed to indicate its Cambodian origin. No doubt it was brought by the people of that region when they conquered Siam in the 13th century and set up their kingdom at Luburi. This drum showed signs of having been done by skilled workmen.

Another drum was shown me which was said to have been used by the great King of Siam, King Chulalongkorn whose reign coincided in part with that of Queen Victoria in England. This was said to have been made by the Yang Dang people near Cheingmai. It is thought to be quite old having been made in the 14th century.

From what I could gather in the short time at my disposal it seems that these drums had two uses. One to be carried into battle and to make a noise that would add to the din of fighting and create panic in the minds of the enemy, and the other to use in times of peace to encourage the spirits of the clouds to send rain. The snails found on the heads of these old drums are like the frogs rainy season creatures and the reverberations of the drums can easily be imagined to imitate thunder.

THREE SHAN LEGENDS.

I.

NANG MAAG BIN.

The story I am going to relate is about a very beautiful Princess who came out of a bale fruit. *Nang* means "Princess," *Maag* means "Fruit," and *Bin* means "Bale."

Many long years ago there reigned a King at Mong Hsing Hko. He had a son, and this prince, when he came of age, was sent by his father to learn the art of a prince. The Prince went out alone, and travelled on to where his fortune might lead him. At last he chanced to come to a solitary cottage, in which dwelt a learned hermit. The Prince asked the holy man whether he would accept him as his pupil, and the hermit, observing the appearance of the young Prince, decided that the lad would certainly be a very able and clever youth. So he told the Prince that he would be very pleased to do as he wished.

The Prince stayed with the hermit for some years, and the aged tutor took special interest in teaching his clever young pupil. After some years the Prince had learnt almost everything from the hermit, for he was his only pupil. Thus the hermit and the Prince spent their time happily in the forest, living upon different kinds of fruit only. But although the Prince was quite happy with his holy master, he was anxious about his father, from whom he had been parted a long time; and having at length a good stock of knowledge in his head, he asked the hermit's permission to go back to his home. Although the old hermit was very sorry to lose his pupil, he had to consent, for the Prince had been with him a long time. But before he went away, the hermit said that as a token of his love he would give him something of high value.

The hermit told the Prince that in the territory of the giants there was a very fine bale tree. Around this tree the giants kept watch every day and night, for not only was the tree valuable, but also the place was just on the border of their territory and human territory. The giants were really guarding the fruit on that tree, and that fruit would be worth taking, for in it was a princess. This fact was known to the hermit and the giants only.

The hermit gave the Prince some medicine which would make him invisible to the giants. The giants were supposed to sleep at noon, but no doubt they would keep sentinels to watch the tree. By the help of this wonderful medicine the Prince was not only safe from the giants' sight, but also was able to arrive at the place exactly at noon. He climbed up the tree and took his prize. The sentinels smelt human blood,

but they could find no signs of a human being. They awoke all their friends, and to their amazement they saw that their valuable fruit was missing.

The Prince took the fruit back to the hermit, who told him that it was his prize, and made him promise not to open it until he reached his kingdom. The Prince promised without any hesitation. As he was on his way home he heard a very lovely voice from within the fruit. His heart beat fast; he asked some questions, and the voice replied with a yet more lovely tone. He learnt that it was the voice of a girl, and he began to speak to her like a lover, and asked her if she would accept his love. The princess inside the fruit gave a favourable reply, saying that she was in his power.

Thus as he carried the fruit along he chatted with the princess inside the fruit the whole way, till he approached his kingdom. He then could no longer keep the promise which he had made, for he was so anxious to see the princess in person. He opened the fruit, and a lovely princess, dressed in the most beautiful clothes, decorated with precious jewels, came out and sat down near him. The Prince was overcome with delight to see the fair princess beside him. The couple then went on together till they reached a well outside the prince's city. There was a big tree near this well, and its branches towered over the well. The Prince thought that it would be prudent for him to keep the princess at that place while he went into the city to make known his arrival and to tell his father about his fair consort whom he had left outside the town.

The King was very pleased to see his son back again, and more pleased to learn that he had brought a fair lady from the giants' territory. He ordered all his soldiers and his subjects in the city to go and meet his daughter-in-law. He himself accompanied his son on an elephant decorated with royal ornaments.

While the princess was alone in the tree, for the Prince, before he went away, had helped her to get up into the tree that she might be more safe there, a maid from a rich man's house came to draw water. This maid was the most ugly of all the women in the universe, and her character was consistent with her appearance. She was the most ugly, the most wicked, and the most jealous of all human beings. As this woman stooped down to draw water from the well, she happened to see the reflection of the fair princess who was in the tree. Mistaking this reflection for her own, this woman thought that she was the most beautiful woman in the world, and thought that she ought not by any means to be a maid-servant to anybody. So she broke her pots, and went back to the house really believing that she was beautiful. The mistress of the house, who was waiting for the water, was astonished to see her maid return empty-handed. She asked her what the matter was, and on being told that the maid had broken the pots through slipping and falling on

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the road, she scolded her for being so careless, and then gave her a new pair of pots and warned her to be more careful this time.

The maid went again as usual to the same well, and as she looked down into the water she again perceived the same fair image. This time she looked round to see whether anyone was beside her, but seeing no one, not the least sign of a human being, she concluded that the shadow must be that of nobody but herself. Again the vain thought came into her head, and she broke the water-pots again. She returned home, walking more proudly than the first time, to meet this time double abuse. She was not only scolded by her mistress, but severely abused by her master also.

They gave her this time a pair of wooden bottles to go and fetch the water, and if she failed to bring it this time she was to be driven away from the house. She went to the well again, and again saw the same shadow. But this time she looked very carefully, and at last she saw two shadows, and learnt that the ugly one was her own. She looked around her in every direction, vainly ; but on looking upward she saw the fair princess in the tree. She was very angry, and, climbing up the tree like a wild and angry beast, pulled the princess down and treated her very harshly. At last she killed the princess and threw her body into the well, after taking all her possessions. She put on all the beautiful clothes and jewels of the princess, and went up into the tree, and seated herself at the place where the princess had sat before.

The Prince, accompanied by his royal father, then appeared at the tree with all their retinue. On seeing the ugly maid every one was dejected. Even the King himself did not come near enough to greet his new daughter-in-law. He turned his elephant and went straight back. However, the unfortunate Prince had to call this wicked woman his wife and take her to his palace. He kept her in a separate room, and never went to her. So the Prince was very unhappy for some time.

A month or two afterwards a very pretty lotus came out from the well. Its fragrant smell persuaded everyone passing to come to it. It chanced one day that one of the King's servants came that way and saw the lovely lotus. He took it to the Prince, who put it in a respected place. It was so lovely and beautiful and its smell was so attractive, that the Prince was always near the lotus. The wicked maid soon knew this, and from the Prince's behaviour she thought that the lotus must surely be that lady whom she had killed. Her usual jealousy persuaded her to destroy the lotus, so one day when the Prince was absent she went to the place, and taking the lotus, threw it away. The Prince was indeed very sad when he missed his favourite lotus. However, in a few months' time a mango tree came up in the exact place where the lotus was thrown. Although the tree was quite small as yet, there was a golden fruit on it. This fact was again known by the wicked woman ; the place where the tree grew was quite near her, and one day her maid-servants saw the

mango and told her what they had seen. This wicked woman at once ordered the tree to be cut down, and told her servants to throw the mango into a stream which flowed down to a great distance, passing the King's garden on its way. The golden mango went down with the water till it reached the King's garden.

It happened that day that the King's gardener and his wife were washing their clothes in the stream. The old couple saw the lovely fruit, and the gardener without much difficulty caught hold of it. As it was a very strange fruit they kept it on a high shelf in their house. These old people used to go out in the early morning and work all day. From the time the mango was in their house they found that a strange thing occurred. When they went out they usually left their house very untidy and their food uncooked. Now, every time they came back the house was very clean and the grandest meal was ready for them. They could not find out the cause for some time, but one day they pretended to go out, and immediately came back to watch who had been doing their work every day. To their surprise they saw a very beautiful girl come out of the golden mango. She was going to do the work again, but the two old people ran up and caught her. The housewife threw away the empty fruit. The Princess was very sorry that her cell had been thrown away; she told them that if the cell was with her all the people in the city could take refuge in it in time of danger.

So the fair lady lived with these old people for some time. She told them all about herself. The old woman had to go and give flowers from the garden to the royal family every week. One day the princess told the old woman to bring her some flowers. She wove the flowers into a wreath in a very beautiful manner, and in the wreath she showed what had happened to her from the beginning of her life up to that time. Every detail was included in the wreath. She then told the old woman to present the wreath to the Prince. As soon as the Prince saw it he was very unhappy. He asked the old woman who had woven the wreath, but as the girl had made her promise not to tell, she replied that she had done it herself. The Prince did not believe this; he destroyed the wreath and told her to do it again in his presence. As the old woman could not do it, he knew that the story told in the wreath must be true, and that his fair consort must be at this woman's house.

One day he went out to the garden with some of his men. He was on an elephant. On reaching the house he asked for some water to drink. The housewife brought some, and the Prince poured the water away. This he did many times until the old woman could no longer bear it; she called out for the girl. When the girl came out the Prince begged her to go with him; she consented, and accompanied him on the elephant.

The wicked woman at the palace was very jealous of the fair princess, and planned a stratagem to get rid of her. Meanwhile the

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Prince and the princess lived happily for some time. One day they were going to wash their hair. The wicked woman managed to put some finger and toe nails in the princess's hair, but nobody knew that she had done it. She then told the Prince that the princess was a witch. The King was also informed. When the princess was examined they found the nails in her hair. This was a sign of a witch, and as witches were considered very evil, the King ordered his daughter-in-law to be executed. The Prince was very sad, but he could not oppose his father's order.

So the princess was taken out to be executed. Before they killed her she prayed to God. She asked Him that when she died her body should become a big rest-house, her eyes two parrots which would relate her story to the Prince, and her limbs a golden mango tree, the fruit of which, she prayed, should be very wholesome to honest and pious people, and very sour to wicked and bad-charactered people. Her prayer was fulfilled. A fine big rest-house appeared at that place, and also a golden mango tree, and two parrots. As for herself, she died and became one of the seven angels of a silver mountain very far away from human territory.

One day the Prince, accompanied by his wicked wife and their retinue, came to the place where the rest-house was. It was strange to all of them, and they were astonished to see the golden mango tree. The servants plucked some of the fruit for the royal couple. The Prince tasted one of the fruits and it was very wholesome indeed, but when the wicked woman tasted hers, her strange expression was seen by all. Even when she asked for a piece from the Prince's fruit she could not eat it; it was too sour for her. The Prince saw that there was something wrong, but he had not to wonder long, for one of the parrots on the tree promised to tell him all when he was alone. He told all his people to go back with their mistress. When he was alone the parrots related all the story of the princess. They said that she dared not go back to him for she had been killed many times. If he wanted to see her he must go to the silver mountain which was in the territory of the angels.

The Prince determined to go alone till he obtained his fair love again. So he went on his way until he came to a hermit. The hermit said that he knew nothing about the mountain, but he thought that an old hermit who lived very far away might know. He showed the Prince the way to the old hermit. By the help of Thakya Min, the supreme of all Nats, the Prince arrived at the place where the old hermit lived. This hermit was so old that when he sat down his eyelids hung down as far as his nose. When he heard the voice of the Prince he lifted up his eyelids to look at him. The Prince told the old hermit what he wanted, and related the whole story of himself and the fair lady he was seeking. The holy man sympathised with the Prince, and gave him directions how to catch the angel.

The angels came down from the silver mountain to bathe in the golden pond every week. The Prince arrived there in time to see the seven sisters come. They bathed merrily in the pond. All dressed and went back to the palace after they had finished except the youngest, who remained alone for some time. The Prince took her dress and hid it. When she came up from the water she could not find her dress, but only the Prince, who begged her to go back with him to his kingdom. She did not want to part from her sisters, but as her affection for this young man was still fresh, and as she was sorry to see him come from a very great distance, she agreed to go with him. The Prince loved her dearly, so she loved him too.

They both set forth for their kingdom. When the Prince reached the palace he drove away the wicked inhuman woman. The woman had not gone three steps from the palace when the earth rose to meet her. She was swallowed up by the earth. The Prince and Princess then lived together happily till the death of their father. They then became King and Queen and both reigned happily.

II.

THE SILVER OYSTER.

The old people in the Shan States are in the habit of telling religious stories. They say that Buddha existed in every world, sometimes as an animal, and sometimes as a human being ; but whatever he was he was the chief. The following legend is told about him.

Many years ago there reigned a King in a certain country. He had wives but no children. So one day he called his wives and told them to ask for a son from the nats they worshipped. The Queen went into the royal garden and stayed there for seven days. On the last day she dreamt of the sun which fell on her breast. The King was told, and he knew she would be with child. The Queen was to stay in the garden until she gave birth. Wires, one gold and one silver, were connected from the royal garden to the palace, and it was ordered that if she gave birth to a daughter the silver wire was to be struck, and if to a son, the golden wire. Ten months after he had heard the dream he heard the shivering of the wires. He went and looked at them, and saw both shivering. He knew not what had happened, and waited for the sun to rise. Then a letter announced that the Queen had given birth to a Silver Oyster. The King was so ashamed of what other kings would say that he ordered the Queen to leave the palace, and the Oyster to be thrown into the river. The Queen knew that it was useless to talk with the King, so she consented, and went to live with a poor old couple who loved her as their own daughter.

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As the Oyster was thrown into the river, the Thakya Min came down, and taking it up put it in a pot with a pair of flying shoes and a magic stick. He wrote a letter saying that after seven months something would come out of the shell. He packed the pot properly, and it floated down the river. It went on for a month. On this river there stood the kingdom of the dragons, and as the seven princesses were bathing they saw the pot. All ran towards the bank except the eldest, who took it up and went to the palace. She opened it and saw those things which have been described. She read the letter, and intended to keep the pot, but her father would not allow her to do so, and she was forced to pack the pot again and send it floating down the river, writing a few words saying how she had had to set it floating again unwillingly.

Another month passed, and the pot was picked up by a giantess who was the ruler of the giants. She opened it and kept the pot and its contents in a room at the top of her palace. She looked after the oyster with the utmost care. Five months after she had picked it up, a lovely child came out, and she was very glad, as she had no children. She kept many maids to look after him. He grew up to be a strong and lovely boy. His foster-mother usually went out every day, and she told her son not to climb to the top of the palace. The maids were also ordered not to let him climb up there. As these giants transformed themselves into human shape, he thought that they really were human beings like himself.

One day, when he was in the sixteenth year of his age, he determined to climb up to the top of the palace to see what was there and why his mother, as he thought her, had so often told him not to do so. As soon as his mother went out he climbed up, although the maids tried their very best to stop him. He reached the topmost room. He saw a giant's outer garment and a mask. He at once knew that the people with whom he was living were not human beings, but giants. He opened the pot which was also there, and saw the shoes, the stick, and the letter. Thus he came to know his real father and his country. He put on the garment, the mask, and the shoes, and took the stick in his hand. He entered. He looked very ugly in his new garments. He then flew to the east, where he saw a garden containing a blood pond; to the north he saw heaps of human bones; in the western garden he saw dead bodies; and in the south he saw human beings who were confined there. He set them free. He now knew then that his pretended mother, the giantess, used to eat human beings. So he flew up, intending to return to his own country. The giantess saw him and was mad with grief. She tried to induce him to come down, and he thought of going to her, but on second thoughts he was afraid of being eaten. So he flew up. As his foster-mother was weeping he dropped his turban. He saw her pick it up, and when she kissed it she fell to the ground senseless. Again he thought of descending, and again he dared not. So he flew as fast as possible to be out of

sight. When the giantess came to herself she went to the palace and punished the maids for not doing what she had ordered.

He flew on till he saw a group of cowherds enjoying themselves under a tree. He descended and went to them. At first they were very much frightened, but he managed it so carefully that they became friends. They loved him very dearly. They were five hundred in number, and all promised to build for him a house and to bring food for him next day. So he stayed with the cowherds in the day time, and alone at night when they had returned to their homes.

A year passed, and one day the cowherds told him that a pwe was to be held in the King's palace. The pwe was held because the youngest of the King's seven daughters was to choose a husband for herself. So they told him that they were going to the pwe, and told him not to go with them as he was very ugly. He consented. They all went to the pwe. He followed them at a distance, and when they were out of sight he flew as fast as he could to the pwe. The princess was on the platform, and the people stood around her. He went and stood on the east side, and when the cowherds arrived at the pwe they also stood on the east side. They saw him, and being very much ashamed of him gave him a blow each and went to the north side. He thought that he would be safe on the north and went there also. They found him there and reproached him. Everywhere he went he found them and could not get rid of them. So he jumped to the front. As he jumped the princess saw his skin, which was very beautiful. She took up the wreath and put it round his neck as a sign that she chose him as her husband. All the people were amazed. The ministers told the King that the princess had chosen a husband who was as ugly as he could be. The King, being vexed, drove both daughter and son-in-law into the forest. The six sisters were very angry, and they made up their minds to kill their sister's husband.

One day the six sisters persuaded the King to order them, the seven, to bring a fish each to him. If anyone failed, her husband must be put to death; the fish must be brought the following morning at ten o'clock. So the King ordered as he was bid. The youngest went home in tears, but when her husband saw her come crying he comforted her and told her not to be worried. As soon as it was dawn he beat the ground thrice with his stick, and all the fish appeared in front of him. He picked out the largest two and awoke his wife. He gave them to her, one to play with and one to take to the King. She was so pleased that she took both to the King a little after her sisters had left the palace. The sisters with their fishermen went to every stream but could get none. The youngest sister's husband then flew to a banyan tree. He beat three times again, and a throne appeared with the fishes in front of it. He took off his garments and sat down on the throne. The sisters after a fruitless search

arrived at the spot where he was sitting. They took him for a nat. They worshipped him and asked for a fish each. He gave them one each but in return asked for the tips of their six noses. They went back satisfied, thinking that they would be able to kill the ugly man, as they called their sister's husband, because even they with their numerous followers could find nothing and their husbands would have been killed if they had not had the good fortune to meet a nat.

When they arrived at the palace they were surprised to find their youngest sister before them with two large fishes. They did not, however give up their plan, and the next thing they planned was to bring to the King a stag each. The same thing happened as in the case of the fish, and this time the "ugly man" took the tips of their ears. So the last contrivance was that each sister must build a road of jewels from her house to the palace within seven days. The youngest cried very much, for she had not a single stone, nor anybody to help her husband. Her husband told her to mark out the road. When she took a level place the elder sisters pushed her side and took the place for themselves. Though her husband told her not to be sad or anxious, she could not help it, because she knew that they could not afford such a road.

The sixth day came, and not a stone had been placed on their road, whereas the others had nearly reached the palace. The youngest went to bed and thought only of death. At midnight her husband got up, and he prayed for his road to be the best among the seven. His prayer was answered. In a minute's time he saw the road shining brightly in the moonlight. He did not sleep, but made the necessary things for the procession to the palace. Many nats came down and kept him company. They gave him nat's garments and when it was dawn he took off his giant's garments and put on his nat's dress. He woke his wife, who at first did not believe that he was her husband. He had to put on the giant's garments again to show her who he was. She got up, mad with happiness, and taking the giant's garments she burnt them. She put on him the nat's dress, and with the nats as their followers they went to the palace. The King was amazed, and thinking that some king had come to pay a visit he got down from his throne and asked his son-in-law to get up on to it. His son-in-law then told him who he was. The King was very angry with the ministers and his daughters. He called his daughters and told them to beg his son-in-law for mercy. He forgave them. As they said that they had got the fish and the stags from a nat, and not from him, he took out the nose-tips and ear-tips from his pocket, and placing each in its place, made the noses and ears whole again.

So then he went to his father and related his story. His father was very pleased and gave him his kingdom. He took his mother to his palace, and summoned the dragon-princess and his foster-mother the giantess to his royal town, and built a palace for each of them. They lived long and happily in peace.

He had to be an oyster for seven months and had to undergo these hardships because he had killed an oyster in his last existence.

III.

THE STORY OF ARGANEE.

Once there was a very learned man in the town of Benares. Because of his learning he became a teacher. He had a school of his own; he alone taught his pupils and he rose to fame by his cleverness in teaching. It happened that out of his five hundred pupils there was one, and one only, that he could not teach; and even in this case it was not his method of teaching that was at fault. The name of this pupil was Arganee, and he was as dull as an ape in human form. He toiled through his lessons as heavily as a woodcutter through his toiling life. He made no progress in his learning from the time he joined the school to the time for leaving it. One day his teacher sympathetically advised him to try to learn a single word, "Evam-me-sutam," a sacred word taken from the Scriptures. Arganee accordingly learnt that word. It was not an easy thing for so dull and witless a lad as Arganee, but after three months' studying he was able to pronounce the word as accurately as any wise man. He was so pleased with his success that he said that word before every sentence he spoke. So, after paying respect to his master he took leave of him and went away.

He wandered about the country until one day, when he was making his way through a forest in which he had not before set foot, he came upon a lovely palace. Being half dead with thirst, hunger, and weariness, he sat down under an apple tree which was near a well just by the palace. He satisfied his hunger with the apples, quenched his thirst with the water from the well, and relieved his weariness with a sound slumber. Not long after he fell asleep, he was suddenly awakened by a beautiful, a fairy-like, maiden of about his own age. Now this maiden was the daughter of a lord who was the owner of that castle. Her mother had died about a year before, and therefore only she herself, her aged father, and a single servant, were left to occupy the whole area which surrounded the palace. On that day on which Arganee made his way towards the palace, Hkin Hkin U, for that was the name of the enticing maiden, begged her father to give her permission to seek for herself a learned husband, as she had already entered the threshold of life since her mother died. Her father, without further ado, granted her request. She made a long and wise reasoning with herself the whole day, and had now come out for a walk to enjoy the splendour of the evening. So this is how she saw Arganee.

When Arganee woke up she questioned him about his birth and his occupation and his reason for trespassing on her domain. He answered her questions so satisfactorily that she took him to be a wise man. So

THREE SHAN LEGENDS.

she brought Arganee to her palace and discovered her plan to her father. He was very pleased at the successful attempt of his daughter. Therefore Hkin Hkin U and Arganee were married next day. The grandeur of the marriage could not be rivalled by that of any other earthly marriage.

But not many days after their marriage, Hkin Hkin U knew that her husband was no wiser than an ape, and she told him that if he wanted to win her he must go out into the world again to seek for more wisdom. Therefore he went away.

After travelling for eleven days he came to the bank of a river. Being unable to go farther he wept, and prayed to God to help him in his endeavour to lead a wiser life. His prayer was heard by his mother who had died and become a fairy. So she came invisibly to Arganee and told him who she was. She asked him of his troubles, and he made known to her all his wishes. Then he begged her to show him her face. The fairy then said, "My son, from this very instant you will at once become the wisest man in the world, but your second request cannot be granted, lest you should seek to trespass against the lawful consort of human beings." But Arganee cried and wept, saying that he was wise enough not to do so. Then the fairy said, "Dear son, control your mind, and step not a pace towards me, or you will ruin yourself and will die the death of a wretched man." She then showed herself. Arganee, being overcome by desire, tried to embrace his mother, but was forced away by the fairy, who then said, "May you die the death of a wretched man." Then she made her way towards heaven. So Arganee went away sorrowfully, regretting his wicked deed towards his mother. "But what is done cannot be undone," he said to himself, and he continued his journey, not the same way as he had come, but towards another country.

When he arrived at this other country he lodged at a shop, and not long after his entrance into the town his fame had become known to every citizen in the town. One day a herald went about the town proclaiming that there would be a contest in drawing at the royal court, and whoever drew the best should become the heir to the throne. So a Brahmin who was expert in drawing, Kala-pyu by name, went to the court, accompanied by Arganee, who was his teacher. But Arganee did not enter the court; he stayed outside. On being commanded to draw the portrait of the Queen, Kala-pyu sat down near the throne. But Arganee, as soon as he heard the voice of the Queen, at once knew the form of her face and every part of her body. As soon as he finished, the Brahmin went home and showed his portrait to his master who had already finished his own drawing and returned home for dinner. Arganee took the portrait which his pupil had drawn and gave him in return his own drawing, saying, "You will be rewarded greatly for that." On seeing this drawing the King was very angry, for the picture was little better than naked; everything that was on the Queen's skin was

shown. So the Brahmin was accused of trespassing against the King's will, and so he was sentenced to death. But Kala-pyu said that the portrait was his master's work. Therefore Arganee was sent for. When he arrived before the King he was sentenced to death at once, and was forthwith executed.

Thus was Arganee punished for his evil deed towards his mother. This story teaches us not to be indolent in any enterprise. For though he did lawfully he was killed. Thus his prosperous life was made short by the solemn vow of the fairy, his mother.

B. R. PEARN.

TRANSLITERATION OF FOREIGN NAMES AND WORDS INTO BURMESE.

Kinwun Mingyi U Gaung's diary, in which he recorded, as he had perforce to record, the names of European towns and many another European word in the Burmese script, and which he had executed most satisfactorily, approximating the European pronunciation and accent in many cases, affords a concrete example of the imperfections of the Burmese script for the purpose. The apparent inaccuracies were due, not to his want of ability to write or to find the correct script, but to the inherent imperfections of the Burmese script itself. The Kinwun Mingyi was an acknowledged Burmese and Pali scholar and a past master of the two languages. His knowledge of them was erudite and profound, yet he was unable to find the equivalents of the characters F and V in the Burmese script. Ever since the publication of his diary, I have often times been thinking whether the time has not arrived when we should add these two characters to our alphabet, thus breaking the traditional convention in the right direction. By adding these two characters to our script the names of foreign towns and the foreign words and phrases written in the Burmese script, be they legal, technical, scientific or colloquial, would be more readily decipherable than now. At present the transliteration, as given in the Burmese daily newspapers and journals, is done so imperfectly that one can hardly recognise the European equivalents of the words thus transliterated in the Burmese script. The transliteration in most cases has given sounds out of all recognition. No guessing of any kind will solve the problem. The following are the examples :—

- (1) Min-chit-sa-tar (မင်းချစ်စာတာ) for Manchester.
- (2) Auk-pho (အောက်ဖို့) for Oxford.
- (3) Came-bree (ကမ်းဘရီး) for Cambridge.
- (4) E-jip-pa-shin (အီချပ်ပါရှင်း) for Egyptian.
- (5) Sie-yin (ဆိုင်ယင်း) for science.
- (6) Um-ma-sa-tar-din (အမ်မာစာတာဒင်း) for Amsterdam.
- (7) Wee-to-ri-ya (ဝီတိုရိယ) for Victoria.
- (8) Pha-lin-min (ဖာလင်းမင်း) for Fleming.
- (9) Bar-moo (ဘာမူ) for Vermouth.
- (10) Pha-ran-sit (ဖာရန်စစ်) for Francis.
- (11) Byi-tee-sha (ဗြိတိသျှ) for British.
- (12) Chee-coat (ချီးကုတ်) for Chief Court.

For the purpose of transliteration I would prescribe the following twenty-five characters :—

က ခ ဝ င ို ခ ဝ င ို ို ို ို ို ို ို (f) ဘ ဖ (v) ဓ ို ို ို (r) ို ို ို ို ို

- | | | |
|-------------|--------------------------|----------|
| (1) Tha (ဝ) | must be pronounced as in | "thin". |
| (2) Tha (ဝ) | do | "then". |
| (3) Tha (ဝ) | do | "month". |
| (4) Fah (ဖ) | do | "fan". |
| (5) Vah (ဖ) | do | "very". |
| (6) Ya (ယ) | do | "you". |
| (7) Rah (ရ) | do | "read". |

Thus it will be found that there are only two additions made to the Burmese alphabet: they are F and V. Otherwise the characters are preserved intact. Phonetically the sounds produced by ခ၊ ခ၊ ခ၊ ခ၊ ခ၊ are superfluous and they are thus eliminated for the purpose of transliteration *and not for any other purpose*. This last statement is necessary in order to prevent misunderstanding on the part of those conservative people who strenuously opposed similar suggestions made some time ago by the Director of Public Instruction, but for another purpose altogether.

Albeit that we are now armed with the two missing characters, it is necessary that some uniform method of transliteration should be adopted in order to reap the utmost benefit therefrom. The following method will not necessitate the printers to cast extra founts. I felt that *liaison* signs of some sort should be employed underneath the connecting Burmese characters. However a short dash sign connecting one syllable to another denoting a *liaison* would answer the purpose.

- | | |
|--|------------------------------|
| (1) You—ယူ။ | (14) String—စ-ဝ-ရင်း(-c)။ |
| (2) Yet—ယက် (-တ)။ | (15) Strong—စ-ဝ-ရင်း(-c)။ |
| (3) Your—ယူ (-၇)။ | (16) Stroung—စ-ဝ-ရင်း(-c)။ |
| (4) Yours—ယူ (-၇-စ)။ | (17) Cloak—က-လုန်(-ခ)။ |
| (5) Yours sincerely—(ယူ-၇-စ)၊ ဆင်
(-န) -ဆိ (-၇-လိ)။ | (18) Clock—က-လုန်(-ခ)။ |
| (6) London—လံ (-န)၊ ခ် (-န)။ | (19) Claw—က-လုန်။ |
| (7) Paris—ပဲ၊ ရပ် (-စ)။ | (20) Click—က-လုန်(-ခ)။ |
| (8) France—ဖ-ရန် (-စ)။ | (21) Clique—က-လုန်(-က)။ |
| (9) Have—ဟဲ (-ဖ)။ | (22) Ward—ဝဲ (-ခ) |
| (10) Newfoundland—န-ယူ၊ ဖျေင်
(-ခ)၊ လဲ (-န-ခ)။ | (23) Wärd—ဝဲ (-ခ) |
| (11) In—အင်း(-န)။ | (24) Werd—ဝဲ (-ခ) |
| (12) An, en—အဲ(-န)။ | (25) Wert—ဝဲ (-ခ) |
| (13) Ing—အင်း(-c)။ | (26) Wart—ဝဲ (-ခ) |
| (28) I am quite well.—အိုင်းအဲ(-စ)၊ တိုက်(-တ)၊ ဝဲ(-လ) | (27) How are you ?—ဟေး၊ အာယူ |
| (29) Where is your place ?—ဝဲ(-၇)၊ အပ်(-စ)၊ ယူ(-၇)၊ ဟ-လေ(-စ) | |
| (30) Come here.—ကင်း(-စ)၊ တိး(-၇)။ | |
| (31) Please do not forget me.—ဟ-အိ(-စ)၊ ခု(-န)၊ (-အ)၊ ဖျေင်-ဂန်(-အ)၊ မိ။ | |

- (32) It is not a very good stuff.—အပ်(-တ)၊ အပ်(-ဝ)၊ နေ့(-တ)၊ အေဗွဲ-ရီး၊
ဂွတ်(-ဒ)၊ ဓ-တပ် (-ဒ)
- (33) There is no hotel at the railway terminus.—သွဲ(-ါး)၊ အပ်(-ဝ)၊
ရီး၊ ဟို-ထဲ (-လ)၊ အက် (-တ)၊ သွီ၊ ရေး (-လ)၊ ဝေး၊ တီး-မင်း-နပ် (-ဝ)။
- (34) Vermouth and brandy.—ဗျူးမု (-ည)၊ အဲ (-န-ဒ)၊ ဘဲ-ရီး (-န)၊ -ဒီး။
- (35) From Rangoon to Henzada.—ရှ-ရေပ် (-ဝ)၊ ရဲ (-န)၊ -ရူး (-န)၊ ဝု၊ ထဲ
(-န)၊ -ဇ-ဒ။
- (36) The fare is very stiff.—သွီ၊ ဖွဲ (-ါး)၊ အပ် (-ဝ)၊ ဗွဲ-ရီး၊ ဓ-တပ် (-ဒ)။

U THA KIN.

NOTE.

The World of Books, June 1927, Vol. v. No. 5. printed an article by me on the same subject. With the kind permission of the Editor, I reproduce it together with the editorial remarks thereon.

P. M. T

[We make no apology for reverting to the transliteration of foreign words in Burmese. But if any excuse were needed it would be found in a letter from the Professor of Oriental Studies responding to the appeal made by a correspondent in our April number. The major difficulty raised by the lack of final consonants in Burmese he proposes to remove by a simple device indicating that the final letter is to be sounded, while leaving to the preceding consonant its inherent vowel sound. This device alone would make it possible to render in Burmese by the existing letters of the Burmese alphabet a sufficiently close approximation to most of the sounds in foreign languages. But the sounds indicated English by the letters r, v, and f, need special treatment. There is a symbol corresponding to r in the Burmese alphabet although this symbol has not the sound of r in ordinary speech. But, as he points out, it is given the sound of r in Pali words and all we need is a convention that it shall have this sound in foreign words. As regards v and f Burmans have neither the symbols nor the sounds, though they experience no difficulty in pronouncing them. For v he proposes to take over the Talaing symbol for *ba* and by aspirating this letter we get a symbol for f.

Editor, World of Books.

THE TRANSLITERATION OF FOREIGN WORDS.

Sir,—I am pleased to see that in your April number a correspondent has raised the question of transliterating foreign words. As you rightly point out in your leading article, this question is of fundamental importance in relation to the introduction of modern science into Burma, and I would therefore like to ventilate the following suggestions.

Burmese with its *killed* final consonants cannot truly represent English words or syllables ending in consonants. Thus the *l* of 'School' is lost in စူး and 'Mr.' becomes three syllables in မ္မာ။ Writers now-a-days are

introducing two devices for reviving the killed consonant, with a view to rendering the phonetic transliteration more accurate. The first device is to put the required consonant within round brackets. Thus on p. 2 of the supplement of the World of Books, May 1927, Aldus Manutius is rendered အဲ(လ်)ဒဲ(စ)မနုတိယဒ်-(စ)။ Obviously the *လ* carries the *athat* to show that it is not the final of a word like the *စ* which has no *athat*. The second device is to use a hyphen instead of the brackets. As far as my observation goes, the hyphenated consonant always carries the *athat*. Thus one would write အဲ-လ်ဒဲ-မနုတိယဒ်-စ။

It is unfortunate that so much space should be taken up by the brackets or the hyphens (which by the way have been put to other uses by other writers.) And one naturally feels reluctant in spite of the new devices, to go against the accepted significance of the *athat*.

I propose that the brackets and hyphens be done away with and that instead of the *athat* a horizontal line be used over the final consonant. Thus we should write အဲလ်ဒဲ-မနုတိယဒ် (The hyphen may now be used to separate the Christian name from the Surname) The elimination of the *စ* is a distinct gain. It may perhaps be added that a final consonant so treated should not change the quality of the preceding vowel sound. ဧဝံ is *beat*, not *bait*.

The English *v* and *f* sounds are wanting in Burmese. For *v* I propose to use the Talaing character *ဝ* thus showing its relation to *o*. The Talaings get a sort of *f* sound by combining the aspiratin sign with *W*. Thus ဖ. This in Burmese is sounded like the *wh* in *what*. We might, however, substitute *v* for *w* and write ဖ for *f*.

The english *r* sound does not need a new character. Burmans pronounce it in such Pali words as ဘုရိယ။ ဝိရိယ။ they ought to do the same with the new terms taken from the west.

Thus a new character for *v* and a new diacritical mark for the final consonant are all that we need at present for a sufficiently accurate representation of foreign names and scientific terms.

P. M. T.

A NOTE ON "OLD PROME."

Vol. XX, II, Page 83.

သီရိခေတ္တရာမြေပုံ။

(၁) ၁၉၃၁ ခုညီဂုတ်သုတ် သုတသန ဂျာနယ်တွင်။ သီရိခေတ္တရာမြေ ပြေပုံပါလာသည်ကိုတွေ့မြင်ရသည့် အတွက်နှစ်သက်ဝမ်းမြောက်ပါသည်။

ယခုသီရိခေတ္တရာမြေပုံတွင်။ တရုတ်ပြေးမင်းသင်းချိုင်းရာခေါ်သောနေရာရှာမတွေ့ပါ။ သို့ရာတွင်။ ထိုနေရာသည်။ ယခုအခါရှိမရှိမသိနိုင်ပါ။ ရေထဲပေါ်မည်ဆိုလျှင်လည်း ယခုအခါ ရှာ၍တွေ့မည်မထင်ပါ။ ၎င်းသင်းချိုင်းရာဆိုသောနေရာသည်။ ပြည်မြို့ရှိ K.I.H., ဘွဲ့ရသူဦးနေထွန်းဆိုသူလူကြီး၏။ တိုက်အနောက်ဘက်တည့်တည့်လောက်မြစ်ကမ်းနဘူးမှာ။ ၁၈၉၅ ခုနှစ်မတ်လတွင်တွေ့မြင်ရဘူးပါသည်။ ပင်ရှင်စားမြို့အုပ်ကြီး ဦးကံသာဆိုသူအသက် (၇၀) ကျော်လူကြီးကလိုက်ပြ၍ မြင်ရဘူးပါသည်။ အုတ်ကျိုးအုတ်ပဲ့အစအနများကိုမြင်ရပါသည်။ ထိုအုတ်စုမှာ ယခုကာလအုတ်မျိုးမဟုတ်ပါ။ အလျားအနံထူများသည်။ ဟန်လင်းကြီးမြို့ဟောင်း၊ တောင်တွင်းကြီးမြို့ဟောင်း၊ ဗိသျှနမြို့ဟောင်းများကအုတ်များကဲ့သို့ကြီးမားပါသည်။

ဦးတင်။

ANTHROPOLOGY *

Books for its study

CHOSEN BY

A. C. HADDON, Sc.D., F.R.S.

The following is reproduced from *The Literary Guide* for July 1931 by permission of the Editor of that journal.

It is difficult, writes Prof. Haddon, to recommend books on the study of Anthropology, as there are so many of them, and most of them deal with special aspects of the subject; further, there is nothing that can be regarded as a modern comprehensive text-book. The following list is admittedly imperfect; the authors are arranged alphabetically, and the date usually refers to the last edition.

If a student read the article "Anthropology" by Dr. Marett in the last edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* and followed that up by reading the various articles referred to, he would acquire a good acquaintance with the more recent developments in knowledge and theory. A series

* This communication was received from Mr. E. H. Seppings.

of interesting small books, under the general title of *The Beginning of Things*, is edited by G. Elliot Smith. The series *The Corridors of Time*, by H. Peake and H. J. Fleure, contains very valuable, but somewhat technical, studies which are mainly of archaeological interest. The *History of Anthropology*, 1910, by Haddon and Quiggin, should be supplemented by reference to the writings of Elliot Smith and W. J. Perry on the diffusion of culture, and to those of B. Malinowski, who, as an exponent of functional anthropology, interprets the psychological aspects of customs and beliefs. These recent developments will be found to be very stimulating.

General:— *The Building of Cultures*, R. B. Dixon, 1928; *Early Civilization: An Introduction to Anthropology*, A. A. Goldenweiser, 1922; *Anthropology*, A. L. Kroeber, 1922; *Anthropology*, R. R. Marett, 1923; *The Children of the Sun*, W. J. Perry, 1923; *The Primitive Races of Mankind: A Study in Ethnology*, M. Schmidt (translation), 1926; *Migrations of Early Culture*, 1915; and *Human History*, 1929, G. Elliot Smith; *Primitive Culture*, E. B. Tylor, 1903.

Racial:— *The Peoples of Asia*, L. H. D. Buxton, 1925; *Les Races et les Peuples de la Terre*, J. Deniker, 1926; *The Racial History of Mankind*, R. B. Dixon, 1923; *The Races of Man and their Distribution*, A. C. Haddon, 1929; *Man: Past and Present*, A. H. Keane, 1920; *The Antiquity of Man*, A. Keith, 1929; *The Races of Europe*, W. Z. Ripley, 1900; *The Evolution of Man*, G. Elliot Smith, 1924.

Social:— *The Mothers*, R. Briffault, 1927; *Totemism and Exogamy*, J. G. Frazer, 1910; *Primitive Paternity*, E. S. Hartland, 1910; *Morals in Evolution*, L. T. Hobhouse, 1906; *Primitive Society*, R. H. Lowie, 1921; *The Making of Man*, R. R. Marett, 1927; *Crime and Custom in Savage Society*, 1926; *Sex and Repression*, B. Malinowski, 1927; *The Origin of Man*, Carveth Read, 1923; *Kinship and Social Organisation*, 1914, *Social Organisation*, W. H. R. Rivers, 1924; *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, 1906, *History of Human Marriage*, 1925, *A Short History of Marriage*, E. Westermarck, 1926.

Religion:— *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, E. Durkheim (translation), 1915; *The Golden Bough* (3rd edition), abridged edition, 1922; *Folk-lore in the Old Testament*, 1918, *The Belief in Immortality*, I 1913, II 1922, *The Worship of Nature*, 1926, etc., J. G. Frazer; *Primitive Religion*, R. H. Lowie, 1925; *The Threshold of Religion*, R. R. Marett, 1914; *The Origin of Magic and Religion*, W. J. Perry, 1923; *Man and His Superstitions*, Carveth Read, 1925; *Medicine, Magic, and Religion*, W. H. R. Rivers, 1926; *Religion of the Semites* (3rd edition), 1927, W. Robertson Smith; *Religions: Ancient and Modern*, a series of small books by various experts; numerous valuable articles in the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*.

Psychology:—*The Mind of Primitive Man*, F. Boas, 1911; *How Natives Think, Primitive Mentality, The "Soul" of the Primitive* (translations), L. Levy-Bruhl; *An Introduction to Social Psychology* (15th edition), 1920, W. McDougall.

Technology:—*The Evolution of Culture*, A. Lane-Fox Pitt-Rivers, 1906; *British Museum Handbook to the Ethnographical Collections*, 2nd edition, 1925 (this also contains valuable information on racial anthropology).

Students are strongly advised to visit the Horniman Museum, Forest Hill, S. E., and to study the collections there with the cheap and efficient handbooks written by Dr. H. S. Harrison. They will then be in a better position to appreciate other ethnographical Museums.

Various:—*The Population Problem*, A. M. Carr-Saunders, 1922; *The Clash of Cultures and the Contact of Races*, G. H. Lane-Fox Pitt-Rivers, 1927.

THE PRIMITIVE MIND.

The Clarendon Press (London) has just issued under the title *La Mentalite Primitive* a reprint of the Herbert Spencer Lecture delivered at Oxford on May 29, 1931, by the distinguished French anthropologist, M. L. Levy-Bruhl, in which, says Sir Alexander G. Cardew under "Book Chat" in the *Literary Guide* (Watts & Co.) for October, he develops once more his well-known theories regarding primitive mentality, which, M. Levy-Bruhl says, presents features clearly distinguishing it from ours. These features consist in the so-called 'mystical' orientation of the savage mind which sees supernatural influence everywhere and in a 'pre-logical' outlook which overlooks inconsistencies and contradictions. But, as M. Levy-Bruhl himself admits, these supposed differentia of the primitive are easy to find among civilized men. The European who 'touches wood' to ward off the evil of a boastful speech, or the Indian who hangs out a pot to keep 'the evil eye' from his crops, are both 'mystically minded.' That such superstitions are more prevalent among primitives is merely due to their lower level of education, and to assume a fundamental difference between savage and civilized mentality is to mistake a difference in degree for a difference in kind. This has been very clearly brought out in his works on the Trobrian Islanders by Professor Malinowski, who is a field anthropologist and not a savant sitting in a library. He has also remarked that modern field-workers, such as Boas, Rivers, Radin, Kroeber, have one and all criticized adversely the point of view advocated in this lecture. M. Levy-Bruhl is, however, quite unrepentant, and even goes so far as to say that the observations of those who do not agree with him may be discarded as involuntarily misrepresented (*deformes*)! When a personal opinion is carried to such lengths it becomes not so much an error as an obsession.

FROM

A. F. M. ABDUL ALI, ESQ., F.R.S.L., M.A.,

Secretary, Indian Historical Records Commission,

TO

THE HONORARY SECRETARY,

The Burma Research Society, Rangoon.

3, GOVERNMENT PLACE, WEST,

Calcutta, the 28th January 1932.

(IMPERIAL RECORD DEPARTMENT.)

SIR,

I have the honour to forward herewith a copy of paragraph XVI of the Minutes of the Proceedings of the thirteenth session of the Indian Historical Records Commission held at Patna on the 23rd December 1930, regarding the question of correction of the lists of inscriptions on Christian tombs in India and Burma, and to request that, with the permission of the governing body, you will be so good to bring the same to the notice of the members of your Society. A list of official publications containing inscriptions on tombs and monuments in Christian graveyards in any particular province or provinces as well as other necessary information will be furnished to those gentlemen who are willing to assist the Commission in this matter, if they will kindly communicate their wishes to me. I may mention that owing to the prevailing financial stringency the Government of India have decided to postpone the annual meetings of the Indian Historical Records Commission till the situation becomes normal.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

A. F. M. ABDUL ALI,

Secretary, Indian Historical Records Commission.

Extract from the Minutes of the Proceedings of the Members' Meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission held at Patna on the 23rd December, 1930.

XVI—Inscriptions on Christian Tombs.

(See Paragraph 8 of the Proceedings of Twelfth Meeting).

Referring to the questions raised by some of the members, the Chairman said that many Local Governments were unable to revise the

lists of inscriptions on Christian tombs for want of funds, and that the Commission would not be justified in asking them to prepare further lists of the Hindu and Moslem tombs (which, by the way, were not confined to particular localities in any town or district) within their respective jurisdictions. He thought that lists of corrections to the inscriptions on Christian tombs might advantageously be drawn up by interested scholars and placed at the next meeting of the Commission for communication to the Local Governments concerned. It was recommended that the Chairman's suggestions be communicated by the Secretary to the Indian Universities, leading historical societies and institutions in India, to the ordinary and corresponding members of the Indian Historical Records Commission and the co-opted members for the present session.

TEXT PUBLICATION SERIES (Review).

No. 20. Mahathilawa Pyo by Monywa Sayadaw; Edited by Saya Lin, A M.P. and U Ba Maung B.A.—Sun Press : Price Re. 1.

No. 22. Kyigan Shingyi Myittasa; Edited by Saya Pwa—Kawi-myethman Press Price As. 12.

These books, like their predecessors in the same series are clearly printed on good paper and are in every way a great improvement on the editions of Burmese books which used to issue from private presses. They are based on collation of different manuscripts and all variants of any importance appear to be given in the critical notes at the foot of the page.

The prefaces give insufficient information. We are not told the Monywa Sayadaw's name—Shin Adeissayanthi—nor in what part of Burma Monywa is situated. He is described as one of a distinguished group of literary men in the early 19th century—a curiously non-committal description of a poet. We are told that he wrote Udeinnapyo* but his other works are not mentioned nor is a reference given to the dictionary of Burmese authors in volume X Part II of the J. B. R. S. where a list of them will be found. The Mahathilawa pyo is presumably based on the *zat* pf the same title in the collection of minor Jatakas but this information is not given.

The text is based on two *Mus*, which we may call M and S. Nothing is said of their age or authority. M is followed rather more frequently than S, which is used mainly to correct obvious mis-spellings in M. In one case S. has been unnecessarily followed: its reading ကောသလသဉ် (page 51) is preferred to M's ကောသလမင်းသဉ် which suits the meaning better. မင်း may have been rejected because it makes a five syllable line but there

*The preface to Udeinnapyo (No. 9 of the series) gives all the available information about the village of Monywa, and the life and works of the Monywa Sayadaw. And since the preface of Udeinna Pyo is quoted in the preface of Mahathilawa Pyo, the reader is expected to turn to the former for the information required.—P.M.T.

is surely plenty of authority for lines of this pattern containing a non-sonal unaccented syllable ignored in scansion.*

There are no conjectural emendations by the editors though they must have been tempted to try their hand on the conclusion of the 23rd stanza—တရားထိန်းစောင့်၊ တော်တည့်ဖြောင့်သည်။ အံ့မလောက်ဘုန်းတော်ဆုတောင်းတည်း။ To rhyme with စောင့် and ဖြောင့် we have to pronounce လောက် as လောင့်. The Editors say, "The rhyme is bad but we have adhered to the originals." In such cases, the old anonymous copyist or Editor would have been apt to substitute, without remark, a conjecture of his own.

Kyigan Shingyi, Nandadhaya, was a contemporary of the Monywa Sayadaw and, like him, a native of Alon. The letters contained in the book were written for various people on various occasions: *e.g.* as from a parent to an absent son, from a headmen to a superior official, or from a priest to a higher dignitary of the church. They make pleasant reading and are of considerable literary interest.

The preface is in some respects more informative than that in the Thilawa pyo but might have been supplemented from the Dictionary of Burmese authors and from other sources; local enquiry would have identified some of the people for whom the letters were written and perhaps ascertained some interesting particulars about them.

The text is said to be based on the collation of three *Mus*—U (printed) B (MS) and P (not described). Some attempt should have been made to estimate the value of the various *Mus*; and the vagueness as to P is quite inexcusable.

The editor has gone on the principle of adopting the reading found in the majority of his authorities. U usually goes to the wall but in some cases its readings appear to have been wrongly rejected. Thus on page 50 the text has မိတ်ရှိမှလာချိန်မည်။ မိတ်မရှိကကြာချိန်မည်။ "If one has the mind one will come, if one has not the mind one will delay."

For မိတ်မရှိက U reads မိတ်မိက။ This is a more difficult reading but it might bear the meaning "if one is kept back by other attachments", and it is probably the true reading, as being unlikely to have been substituted for the more obvious one in the text.† The same argument tells in

*Generally speaking, a five-syllable line is admitted only in cases where the contraction of the five syllables into four syllables would detract from the meaning. Thus ကောသလရာဇာ three lines above would suffer in meaning through contraction in any way to a four-syllable line.—P.M.T.

† This is a sound principle but I think there is some excuse for the editor's choice. The author is fond of uttering positive sentences and contrasting them with their negative counterparts. Compare four lines above the sentences လွမ်းရင်းရှိမှလာချိန်မည်။ လွမ်းရင်းမရှိကကြာချိန်မည်။ to which the sentences under discussion read almost like an echo.
—P. M. T.

favour of U's အချစ် instead of the obvious အသက် which appears in the text ; and there is the further argument that အချစ် would give a rhyme with ဖြစ်။ * Again at page 15, the text reads စိတ်မှာပလုံ၊ ရတတ်ကြ၍ “with swelling heart, having met with trouble.” Here U reads ရတက်ခုန်၍ “throbbing with anxiety.” Having ventured on the metaphor of ပလုံ (literally, ‘bubble’) the poet could not conceivably have sunk so soon to the prosaic ကြံ The editor's taste sums to have been sadly at fault here.

These are the first of the Text Publication Series which I have examined from the point of view of textual criticism. There are certain recognized principles on which the editing of all texts must proceed and with which the editors are not sufficiently familiar, and the qualifications of an editor by no means end with a knowledge of these principles. The two books dealt with are good pioneer work, but a still higher standard of attainment should be aimed at.

J. A. STEWART.

*I think အသက် is demanded by the sense. On the top of the page reference is made to the tragic instance of an ogress who *died* of grief for her son. အမိ ဘီလူးမ။ သားကိုတလျက်။ သေရဘူးသည်ထုံးလည်းရှိချေသည်။ The parents in the passage under discussion mean that they also would like to see their son before they die. Moreover it would be unnatural for parents to lose their love for the son under the circumstances mentioned in the text—P. M. T.

PROCEEDINGS

The Twenty fifth Meeting of the Text Publication Sub-Committee of the Burma Research Society was held at University College on Saturday the 19th December 1931, at 9 a.m.

PRESENT.

1. Prof. Pe Maung Tin, M.A., B. Litt., I.E.S., *Chairman*.
2. U Tun Pe, M.A., B.L., M.R.A.S., M.L.C.
3. G. H. Luce, Esq., M.A., I.E.S.
4. U Po Sein, A.T.M.
5. U Po Kya.
6. A. Cassim, Esq., B.A., (*Secretary*).

MINUTES.

1. Confirmed the minutes of the twenty-fourth meeting of the Sub-Committee held on the 26th March 1931.

2. Arising out of item 4(a) of the minutes of the last meeting, the Chairman reported that he had handed over the printing of Kyigan Myittasa to the Kawi Myethman Press, instead of the Pyi Gyi Mundyne Press, on the same terms of royalty, etc., in order to expedite the publication of the work.

The Sub-Committee *approved* of the Chairman's action.

3. Resolved that in view of urgent need of the work for research purposes, Mr. Duroiselle, M.A., be reminded again to expedite the editing of the Jatabon.

4. In connection with item 11 of the minutes of the last meeting, U Po Kya agreed to allow the Text Publication Sub-Committee to print and publish his copy of the Gihithuta Vinaya Pyo. The Sub-Committee appointed U Tin, A.T.M., K.S.M., and U Po Kya to be joint-editors of the work.

5. *Confirmed* the chairman's action in purchasing the manuscript entitled 'Tawbu Shin Ugganthamala's Myittasa from U Ba Pe Latt for Rs. 55.

6. The Chairman reported that Lawkathara Pyo and Mahathilawa Pyo had been published as Nos. 19 and 20 respectively in the Text Publication Series.

7. *Confirmed* the Chairman's preliminary sanction for the re-issue of Owada-du Pyo and Ommandandi Pyo.

8. The General Editor reported that the following works were expected to be out soon :—

- (i) Mg. Kala's Mahayazawingyi (Vol. 2), as No. 21, and
- (ii) Kyigan Myittasa, as No. 22 of the Series.

9. He also reported that Tawbu Shin Ugganthamala's Myittasa edited by U Tin, A.T.M., K.S.M., was being printed at Pyi Gyi Mundyne Press and that nearly half the work was finished.

10. *Resolved* that the Mingalathok Pyo edited by Saya Pwa be printed by U Po Sein, A.T.M., who agreed to pay the Sub-Committee a royalty of 10 per cent. on the sale-proceeds of the work. The first edition should not exceed 2,000 copies.

11. *Resolved* that Kyabin Tayasa be edited and printed by U Po Sein, A.T.M., as a work in the Text Publication Series, the first edition not to exceed 1,000 copies. U Po Sein agreed to pay a royalty of 10 per cent. on the sale-proceeds to the Sub-Committee.

12. *Resolved* to refer to the Executive Committee for decision the question of copyright of works published or desired to be published in the Text Publication Series.

13. *Resolved* to defer to the next meeting the consideration of the disposal of the transcribed copy of the Monywa Myittasa.

AHMED CASSIM,

Secretary,

Text Publication Sub-Committee

Minutes of a Meeting of the Executive Committee held at the Medical College, Rangoon, on Monday, the 23rd November 1931, at 6-30 p.m.

PRESENT:

The Hon'ble Sir William Carr, I.C.S. (*President*).
 S. G. Grantham, Esq., B.A., I.C.S. (*Vice-President*).
 A. Cassim, Esq., B.A., (*Honorary Treasurer*).
 C. W. Dunn, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S.
 G. E. Gates, Esq., M.A.
 Rev. H. I. Marshall, M.A., D.D.
 U Tun Pe, M.A., B.L., M.L.C.
 Saya Thein
 and Mr. B. R. Pearn, M.A. (*Honorary Secretary*).

MINUTES.

1. Confirmed the Minutes of the previous meeting held on the 9th July, 1931.

2. Considered proposals for the future of the work on the new Burmese-English Dictionary, and resolved—

- (a) that, as there seems to be no prospect of finding the necessary funds for editing and publishing the Dictionary for some time to come, the Honorary Secretary, Dictionary Sub-Committee, be requested to arrange the material in sealed containers in such order as may appear to him suitable for storage and that the University Library Committee be requested to keep the material in safe custody until such time as the Society asks for its return ;
- (b) that the Honorary Secretary, Dictionary Sub-Committee, be requested to dispense with the services of the Dictionary Clerk when he has finished the work of packing the material and sending it to Rangoon, and
- (c) that it be recommended to the Annual General Meeting that the following be added after section (e) of Rule 15 :
“(f) to consider at its first meeting after the Annual General Meeting in each year the possibility of recommending work on the new Burmese-English Dictionary.”

3. Considered the situation with regard to the Society's funds in Dawson's Bank, and resolved—

- (a) that the Hon. Treasurer be requested to attend the meeting of creditors, to be held on December the 11th, and to support in general the scheme of the Creditors' Committee ;
- (b) that he apply for the Society's deposits to be converted into debentures, Rs. 2,000 to be held in denominations of Rs. 100, Rs. 50 to be held in one denomination of Rs. 50, and the remainder in cash ; but
- (c) that, with reference to para. 4 of the proposals of the Creditors' Committee for the issue of debentures, it should be made clear that the 5% premium to be paid on redemption of the debentures is to be in addition to all accrued interest ; that all debentures redeemed under this provision are to be cancelled ; and that, with reference to para. 10 of the proposals, no further amendments should be made without consultation of the general body of creditors ; and
- (d) that the Honorary Treasurer be requested to raise these points at the meeting of creditors.

4. Resolved to maintain the reduction in the price of the Journal determined on at the previous meeting ; and to keep only 50 copies of each back number of the Journal, the remainder to be disposed of as waste paper, except such copies as the Honorary Secretary may direct to be presented to approved Libraries and Institutions ; to renew the offer of agency to the British Burma Press ; and to advise the Oriental Trading Company of Moulmein that they should address the British Burma Press for such copies of the Journal as they may require for sale.

5. Resolved to hold a General Meeting to be addressed by Captain J. H. Green about the middle of January.

6. Resolved to hold the Annual General Meeting as a purely business meeting at the end of January, and to invite Mr Halliday to address the Society in July.

7. Recorded the presentation of "The Tripitaka" by the Government of Siam.

8. Recorded Circular No. 17 of 1931.

B. R. PEARN,

Dated the 23rd November, 1931.

Honorary Secretary.

Minutes of a Meeting of the Executive Committee, held on Thursday, the 11th February, 1932, at the Medical College, Godwin Road Rangoon, at 6-30 p.m.

PRESENT :

The Hon'ble Sir William Carr, (*President* in the Chair).
 S. G. Grantham, Esq., B.A., I.C.S. (*Vice-President*).
 J. A. Stewart, Esq., M.A., M.C., I.C.S. (*Vice-President*).
 Prof. Pe Maung Tin, M.A., B. Litt., I.E.S. (*Vice-President*).
 A. Cassim, Esq., B.A. (*Hony. Treasurer*).
 G. H. Luce, Esq., *Honorary Librarian*.
 C. W. Dunn, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S.
 G. E. Gates, Esq., M.A.
 Prof. D. G. E. Hall, D.Litt., I.E.S.
 Meer Sulaiman, Esq., M.A., B.L.
 U Lu Pe Win, M.A.
 Mr. B. R. Pearn, M.A. (*Hony. Secretary*).

MINUTES.

1. Confirmed the Minutes of the previous meeting held on the 3rd November, 1931.

2. (a) *Resolved*, with reference to Minute 2 of the previous Meeting, to make over the work of the new Burmese Dictionary to the University of Rangoon on the terms contained in the resolution of the Executive Committee of the Council of the University at its meeting held on the 30th January, 1932, and the resolution of the Standing Committee of the Senate of the University at its meeting held on the 6th February 1932; it being understood that the work will be directed by a committee of three appointed by the University, one of these three being nominated by the Burma Research Society.

(b) *Resolved* that Mr. Dunn be the Society's nominee on the committee referred to in (a) above.

3. *Resolved* that Saya U Maung Maung be employed for one month for a remuneration of Rs. 50 to check the catalogue of the late Wetmasut Wundauk's manuscripts, under the supervision of Mr. Searle; that the copyist be directed to give information in each case of the number of the *ingas*, the date of the copy, and the author's name, if given at the end of the manuscript; and that the Managing Sub-Committee shall consider the catalogue when checked and arrange for the copying of such manuscripts as seems desirable.

4. Passed the accounts of the Society for the year 1931, and resolved with reference to the accounts of the Dictionary Sub-Committee that Mr. Dunn temporarily take over the cash balance and assets of the Dictionary Sub-Committee, the ultimate disposal of the cash balance and assets to be decided by the Executive Committee after a settlement of the future of the Dictionary work has been arrived at with the University.

5. Passed the annual report for the year 1931.

6. Recorded the Honorary Secretary's report that the Burma Book Club has undertaken the sale of the Society's Journal in Burma on the terms formerly proposed to the British Burma Press.

7. Resolved, with reference to a request for an exchange of publications from the Institute of Plant Industry, Leningrad, to ask the said Institute to supply a list of their publications in English or French.

8. Recorded the Minutes of the 25th Meeting of the Text-Publication Sub-Committee and resolved with reference to Minute 12 to invite the Sub-Committee to prepare to note for the consideration of the Executive Committee.

9. Approved of a proposal for an exchange of publications with the Yen-ching Journal of Chinese Studies; and resolved to purchase a manuscript entitled "Lord Dalhousie and Burma" by J. C. Meadows, recommended by the Honorary Librarian,

10. Resolved that the letter No, 211H.C. from the Secretary, Indian Historical Records Commission, be published in the Journal.

B. R. PEARN,
Honorary Secretary.

Dated the 11th February 1932.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

The Annual General Meeting of the Society was held on Thursday, the 18th February, 1932, in the Medical College, Godwin Road, Rangoon, the President, The Hon'ble Sir William Carr, in the Chair, in the Chair.

The Annual Report for the year 1931 was read and passed.

The election of Officers and Members of Committees for the year 1932 was then proceeded with, and the following were elected :—

PRESIDENT.

The Hon'ble Mr. T. Couper

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

S. G. Grantham, Esq., B.A., I.C.S.

J. A. Stewart, Esq., M.C., M.A., I.C.S.

Prof. Pe Maung Tin, M.A., B. Litt., I.E.S.

HONORARY SECRETARY.

Mr. B. R. Pearn, M.A.

HONORARY TREASURER.

A. Cassim, Esq., B.A.

HONORARY EDITOR.

Prof. Pe Maung Tin, M.A., B. Litt., I.E.S.

HONORARY LIBRARIAN.

G. H. Luce, Esq., M.A., I.E.S.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

U Shwe Zan Aung, B.A., K.S.M.,
A.T.M.

Prof. D. G. E. Hall, D. Lit.,
F.R.Hist.S., I.E.S.

The Hon'ble U Ba, B.A., K.S.M.
R. R. Langham Carter, Esq., I.C.S.

U Tha Kin
Dr. H. I. Marshall, M.A., D.D.

C. W. Dunn, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S.

U Tun Pe., M.A., B.L., M.L.C.

Prof. W. G. Fraser, M.A., I.E.S.

U Po Sein, A.T.M.

J. S. Furnivall Esq., B.A., I.C.S.,
(retired).

D. J. Sloss, Esq., C.B.E., M.A., I.E.S.

G. E. Gates, Esq., M.A.

Meer Sulaiman, Esq., M.A.

U Tin, K.S.M., A.T.M.

GENERAL COMMITTEE.

U Tha Tun Aung	Rev. R. Halliday, M.A.
J. Clague, Esq., C.I.E., B.A., I.C.S.	U Hla, B.A.
C. Duroiselle, Esq., M.A.	U Kyi O.B.A., K.S.M.
Major C. M. Enriquez	D B. Petch, Esq., M.C., B.A., I.C.S.
Captain J. H. Green	H. F. Searle, Esq., B.A., I.C.S.
U Lu Gale (2)	L. F. Taylor, Esq., B.A.
G. E. Harvey, Esq., B.A., I.C.S.	U Thein
	U Lu Pe Win, M.A.

On the motion of Mr. Grantham, a hearty vote of thanks was passed to Sir William Carr, the retiring President, for his valuable services to the Society during his two years' tenure of the office of President.

At the conclusion of the formal business of the meeting, a series of short notes of historical and philological matters were read, the contributors being Prof. Pe Maung Tin, Ma Mya Than, Ma Mya Mu, Prof. D. G. E. Hall, U Lu Pe Win, Mr. Htin Si, Mr. G. H. Luce, and Captain Green.

B. R. PEARN,

Rangoon, the 18th February 1932.

Honorary Secretary.

ANNUAL REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1931.

ROLL OF MEMBERS.

In presenting the Annual Report for the year 1930 the Executive Committee was able for the first time for some years to point to an increase in the number of Members of the Society ; on this occasion a slight decrease must be recorded. Eight new members joined the Society during the year 1931, but six resignations were received, while death deprived us of five of our oldest members. There was thus a net decrease of three members. The present membership consists of

Honorary Members	..	..	2
Corresponding Members	..	..	5
Life Members	..	..	57
Ordinary Members	..	..	186
			<hr/>
Total	..	..	250

OBITUARY.

The Executive Committee regrets to have to record the death of the following members :—

Sir Herbert Thirkell White
The Right Rev. Bishop Perroy
Mr. H. C. Moore
Mr. J. Stuart
Miss L. H. M. Laughlin

OFFICERS AND MEMBERS OF COMMITTEES.

The Officers and Members of Committees elected at the last Annual General Meeting held their respective offices throughout the year.

COMMITTEE MEETINGS.

The Executive Committee has met on four occasions since the last Annual General Meeting, *viz*, on the 26th February, the 9th July, the 23rd November, 1931, and the 11th February 1932. The following table shows the attendances of members :—

The Hon'ble Sir William Carr	..	4
Mr. J. A. Stewart	..	1
Mr. S. G. Grantham	..	3
Prof. Pe Maung Tin	..	3
Mr. B. R. Pearn	..	4
Mr. A. Cassim	..	4
Mr. G. H. Luce	..	2
U Shwe Zan Aung	..	0
The Hon'ble U Ba	..	0
Mr. R. R. Langham Carter	..	0
Mr. C. W. Dunn	..	2
Prof W. G. Fraser	..	1
Mr. J. S. Furnivall	..	1
Mr. G. E. Gates	..	3
Prof. D. G. E. Hall	..	2
U Tha Kin	..	0
Dr. H. I. Marshall	..	2
U Tun Pe	..	2
Mr. D. J. Sloss	..	1
Mr. Meer Sulaiman	..	2
U Tin	..	0

Of the General Committee, Mr. G. S. Jury, U Thein Gyi, and U Lu Pe Win attended meetings.

PUBLIC MEETINGS.

A General Meeting was held on the 27th August, 1931, when Mr. G. H. Luce read a paper on "The Geography of Burma under the

Pagan Dynasty"; and another General Meeting was held on the 21st January, 1932, when Captain J. H. Green gave a lecture, illustrated by lantern slides, entitled "Among the Wild Tribes of Furthest Burma."

SUB-COMMITTEES.

(a) Dictionary Sub-Committee. During the year under review the work of the Dictionary Sub-Committee was carried on under considerable financial difficulties, since no contribution was received from the Government of Burma after the close of the financial year 1930-31. By dint of strict economy, including the suspension of the payment of honoraria to contributors, the Sub-Committee was able to make its funds last till the end of the year, but the absence of any prospect of finding the money to edit and publish the Dictionary caused the Executive Committee of the Society to resolve on the suspension of work.

The total number of slips received by the Sub-Committee up to the 31st December, 1931, was 420,976; and the work of arranging these in exact alphabetical order is not yet completed. The Sub-Committee has recommended that every endeavour should be made to complete this work; and the possibility of carrying it on with co-operation of the University of Rangoon is now under consideration.

Text Publication Sub-Committee :—The Sub-Committee for the year was composed of

- (1) Prof. Pe Maung Tin, M. A., B. Litt., I.E.S.
- (2) G. H. Luce, Esq., M.A., I.E.S.,
- (3) U Tin, K.S.M., A.T.M.
- (4) J. S. Furnivall, Esq., M.A., I.C.S., (*retd.*)
- (5) U Tun Pe, M.A., B.L., M.R.A.S., M.L.C.
- (6) U Po Kya,
- (7) U Po Sein, A.T.M.
- (8) A Cassim Esq., B.A., (*Secretary*)

As in previous years Prof. Pe Maung Tin served as Chairman of the Sub-Committee and General Editor of the Text Publication Series. The *Owada-du Pyo* which is the property of the Society was re-printed during the year at a cost of Rs. 420/- for 3,000 copies. A reprint of the *Omma-dandi Pyo*, one of the earliest in the Series, was issued with the addition of an introduction by U Tin, K.S.M., A.T.M., one of the original editors of the work. The Sub-Committee also brought out a reprint of the *Miscellaneous Songs* (No. 6 of the Series.)

U Po Kya has kindly agreed to allow the Sub-Committee to publish in its Series his copy of the *Gihithuta Vinaya Pyo*. The Sub-Committee is greatly indebted to him for his kind permission.

A manuscript entitled *Tawbu Shin Ugganthamala's Myittaza* was purchased from U Ba Hpay Latt for Rs. 55/-. It is being printed as one of the Text Publication Series and is expected to be out soon.

Two other works *viz.*, Mingalathok Pyo and Kyabin Tayasa are in an advanced stage of progress in the press.

During the year the Sub-Committee published the Lawkathara Pyo and the Mahathilawa Pyo as No. 19 and 20 respectively of the Series.

The finances of the Sub-Committee are in a flourishing condition due mainly to the system devised by the Chairman of arranging with presses for payment of royalties on works in the Series published by them. The year opened with a balance of Rs. 836-6-8 carried forward from the previous year and closed with Rs. 1,575-10-11. The income during the year amounted to Rs. 1,303-2-0 and the expenditure was Rs. 563-13-9.

LIBRARY.

The Society's Library is still housed in the premises of the University Library on the University Estate. The number of volumes now in the Library is 2486, the additions during the year under review numbering 126. These additions consist of

Presentations by Government	..	7
Presentations by private persons and public bodies	..	59
Additions by exchange	..	59
Additions by purchase or subscription..		1
		<hr/>
Total	..	126
		<hr/>

FINANCES.

The year opened with a cash balance of Rs. 830-5-5. Apart from the Government subsidy of Rs. 2,500/- for the Dictionary scheme, the receipts from the usual sources amounted to Rs. 4,934-3-0 including a sum of Rs. 2,000 being the proceeds of a Fixed Deposit with Messrs. Dawsons Bank, Ltd., withdrawn on maturity.

On the expenditure side, special mention deserves to be made of the economy effected in the printing of the Journal which this year cost only Rs. 788 for the usual three issues. Out of the Government grant of Rs. 2,500 for the Dictionary a sum of Re. 1,500 advanced by the Society last year to the Dictionary Sub-Committee was recovered.

The closing balance for the year is Rs. 5,072-9-11.

As regards investments the Society holds Government of India 6% Bonds, 1933-36, of the value of Rs. 8,500, and Post Office Cash Certificates of the face value of Rs. 6,000

The three items of Fixed Deposits with Messrs. Dawsons Bank, Ltd., reported in last year's Financial Statement fell due on maturity

during this year. One of them for Rs. 2,000 was drawn and credited to the Society's current account at the Imperial Bank, Rangoon. Another item of Rs. 1,000 was re-deposited in Messrs. Dawsons Bank, Ltd., on Savings Bank account. This sum together with the remaining Fixed Deposit of Rs. 1,000 has, unfortunately, become involved in the liquidation of the Bank. With the interest accrued up to the date of the liquidation of the Bank the Society is affected to the sum of Rs. 2,080-11-0

In connection with the Bank's liquidation proceedings the Executive Committee decided to support generally the scheme suggested by the Creditors' Committee of the Bank for its rehabilitation by the issue of debentures. Accordingly, it resolved to convert the Society's deposits in the Bank into debentures, Rs. 2,000 in denominations of Rs. 100 Rs. 50 in one denomination of Rs. 50 and the balance to be received in cash. On the instructions of the Executive Committee the Honorary Treasurer attended two meetings of the creditors of the Bank held on the 22nd, July 1931 and the 11th, December 1931. Litigation arising out of the Bank's liquidation is proceeding in the High Court and consequently it is impossible to say at the present moment how exactly the Society's deposits will be affected eventually, though it seems reasonable to hope that if the Bank is re-established the Society will be able in due course to recover the whole of its outstandings against the Bank.

The Society's investments during the year were, therefore, as follows :—

I. *Government of India, 6% Bonds, 1933-36*

Amount invested Rs. 8,500/-

II. *Post Office Cash Certificates—*

Face value „ 6,000/-

III. *Deposits in Messrs. Dawsons Bank,
Ltd., (under liquidation)*

. „ 2,080-11-0

8-2-1932.

B. R. PEARN,
Honorary Secretary

BURMA RESEARCH SOCIETY.*Annual Accounts for 1931.*

Receipts.	Amount.	Payments.	Amount.
	Rs. A. P.		Rs. A. P.
Opening Balance	830 5 5	Clerk's pay	360 0 0
Members' subscriptions ..	2,235 0 0	Peon's pay	204 0 0
Interest on investments ..	549 1 0	Printing of Journals, 3 issues ..	788 0 0
Sale of Journal	108 8 0	Postage stamps	110 0 0
Sale of Glass Palace Chronicle ..	30 6 0	Book binding	126 4 0
Miscellaneous	11 4 0	Dictionary Sub-Committee ..	1,500 0 0
Government subsidy to Dictionary Scheme	2,500 0 0		
Fixed Deposit withdrawn ..	2,000 0 0		
		MISCELLANEOUS	
		Printing of forms, etc. ..	55 12 0
		Advertising	8 0 0
		Stationery	10 4 0
		Contingencies	29 10 6
	8,264 8 5	Total	3,191 14 6
		Closing Balance	5,072 9 11
			8,264 8 5
		Text Publication Fund.	
Text Publication Fund.		Copying fee	83 13 9
Opening Balance	836 6 8	Stationery	5 0 0
Royalties	272 3 6	Purchase of a Manuscript ..	55 0 0
Sale of Owada-du-Pyo	1,029 1 6	Printing of Owada-du-Pyo ..	420 0 0
Sale of books	1 13 0		
		Total	563 13 9
		Closing Balance	1,575 10 11
	2,139 8 8		2,139 8 8

Balance: —

At the Bank	Rs. A. P.
Not yet cashed	6,633 4 10
	15 0 0
TOTAL	6,648 4 10

RECEIPTS IN 1931.

Months.	Members' Subscription.	Interest on Investment.	Sale of Journal.	Sale of Glass Palace Chronicle.	Postage Recovered.	Government subsidy to Dictionary Fund.	Fix Deposit with-drawn.	TEXT PUBLICATION FUND.			Total.
								Royalties.	Sale of books.		
									Rs.	A.		P.
1931.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
January ..	510 0 0	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	510 0 0
February ..	1,455 0 0	329 3 0	59 8	..	10 14 0	..	2,000 0 0	..	..	..	3,854 9 0
March ..	135 0 0	..	..	..	0 6 0	2,500 0 0	..	..	..	..	2,635 6 0
April ..	....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
May ..	45 0 0	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	45 0 0
June ..	15 0 0	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	15 0 0
July ..	15 0 0	..	49 0 0	..	..	..	..	..	1 13 0	..	65 13 0
August ..	30 0 0	219 14 0	..	..	..	..	..	272 3 6	1,015 0 6	..	1,537 2 0
September..	15 0 0	..	..	5 0 0	..	..	..	..	14 1 0	..	34 1 0
October ..	..	..	..	25 6 0	..	..	..	..	..	..	25 6 0
November..	....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
December..	15 0 0	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	15 0 0
Total ..	2,235 0 0	549 1 0	108 8 0	30 6 0	11 4 0	2,500 0 0	2,000 0 0	272 3 6	1,030 14 6	..	8,737 5 0

P A Y M E N T S .

Months.	Clerk's pay.	Peon's pay.	Printing of Journal	Postage Stamps	Book Binding	Dictionary Sub-Com.	MISCELLANEOUS.				TEXT PUBLICATION FUND.				Total.
							Printing of forms &c.	Advertising.	Stationery.	Contingencies.	Copying fee.	Stationery.	Purchase of Ms.	Printing of Owada-Pyo.	
1929	Rs.	Rs.	Rs. A. P.	Rs.	Rs. A.	Rs. A.	Rs. A.	Rs. A.	Rs. A. Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A.	Rs.	Rs. A.	Rs. A. P.
January ..	30	17	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	0 4 0	..	..	..	..	47 4 0
February ..	30	17	..	50	..	..	..	..	..	0 12 0	..	..	..	..	97 12 0
March ..	30	17	228 0 0 ⁽¹⁾	1,500	40 8	8 0	..	5 12 0	17 3 0	..	..	..	1,846 7 0
Apr I ..	30	17	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	29 9 0	..	..	..	76 9 0
May ..	30	17	..	30	..	..	..	..	..	..	21 2 3	..	..	..	98 2 3
June ..	30	17	..	30	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5 0	..	..	82 0 0
July ..	30	17	560 0 0 ⁽²⁾	3 0	..	6 4	10 0 6	..	..	..	..	626 4 6
August ..	30	17	..	..	..	..	3 12	..	..	2 12 0	15 6	..	..	420	489 7 6
September ..	30	17	..	..	10 12	..	..	..	..	10 2 0	..	..	55	..	122 14 0
October ..	30	17	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	47 0 0
November ..	30	17	..	..	..	..	8 8	..	4 0	..	..	..	..	..	175 0 0
December ..	30	17	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	47 0 0
	360	204	788 0 0	110	126 4	1,500	55 12	8 0	10 4	29 10	683 13 9	5 0	55	420	3,755 12 3

(1) Vol. XIV Pt. III.

(2) Vol. XXI Pt. I and Vol. XX Pt. III.

Note on the work of the Dictionary Sub-Committee from 1st December 1929 to 31st December 1931.

The last formal report was submitted with letter No. 2100 R-2, dated the 31st December 1929. This covered the period from 1st April 1926 to the end of November 1929, that is from the early days of collection of materials when slips were coming in at the rate of 500 a month to the acme of activity when over 10,000 slips a month were being received. Activity was stimulated by the payment of small honoraria which began in the end of 1926 and was continued into 1930.

The total number of slips received on 30th November 1929 was 3,40,218. The present total (31st December 1931) is 420,976. The decline in the rate of receipt is not entirely due to the discontinuance of payment of honoraria but also to the fact that the *corpus* of Bormese literature had been worked through and latterly, apart from the colloquial language, only new publications, magazines and newspapers had to be dealt with.

The Government contribution of Rs. 2,500 a year was continued for the financial year 1930-31. This was supplemented by an extra contribution of Rs. 1,000 from the Society. In order to make the funds last as long as possible and keep the Dictionary Office open, the employment of a whole-time clerk ceased from the end of June 1931. On July 1st Maung Sein, who has held the appointment of Dictionary Clerk since its creation, was given a temporary appointment in the Magwe Commissioner's Office with an allowance of Rs. 25 per month for dictionary work. The Sub-Committee's total receipts have been

			Rs.
Government contributions	..	..	12,500
Society's contributions	..	..	2,250
Other contributions	..	..	246
Total ..			<u>14,996</u>

The balance in hand in the end of December 1931 was Rs. 673-3-9 and the value of the assets of the sub-committee—a typewriter and some 400 books is about Rs. 1,000. A simple calculation will show that the cost of the work done is about Re. 1 per 30 slips.

The arrangement of slips in exact alphabetical order is not complete. Slips for the greater part of the vowel *ə* for all the other vowels and for the consonants *o* *ə* *o* *ə* and *ə* have been exactly arranged. All other slips have been arranged in roughly alphabetical order; e.g. all slips for words beginning with *kr* have been separated from those for words beginning with *kw* but *kri* and *kra* slips, *kwa* and *kwin* slips will be found mixed together.

The work of exact arrangement is necessarily slow but it must be done, and by a responsible person, before the work of compilation and editing can begin. The Society's order to pack the slips for safe-keeping in Rangoon University Library is being complied with but the Sub-Committee regrets the Society's decision and would like to see it altered if possible.

1. For a small expenditure—Rs. 100 a month the Dictionary Clerk could be retained and made to go on with the work of arranging slips.

2. Meantime the slips would be available to research students for whose benefit the clerk could produce, on about a day's notice, all or most of the slips referring to any particular word. Scholarship would benefit, the value of the materials collected and the advantages of a proper dictionary would be kept prominently before the minds of a limited number of interested people; and the project would not be lost sight of.

3. Touch could be maintained with collectors, new books dealt with as published and collection of colloquial words continued. The extent of dialectical variation in Burmese is much greater than was expected and it is most regrettable that records of words heard in conversation should cease to be made just as the importance of such records is beginning to be realised. The number of colloquial slips received is 6,454.

For these reasons the Sub-Committee would earnestly recommend that the Dictionary Office be kept open and the Dictionary material available, in the Rangoon University Library, till the exact alphabetical arrangement of slips is complete, as it would be in about two years' time.

Whatever decision may be arrived at, however, it is clear that the Dictionary Committee will either demit office altogether or must be reconstituted. The President takes this opportunity of bringing to the notice of the Society the services of all those who have at any time been members of the Committee :

Mr. J. S. Furnivall, B.A.
Prof. Pe Maung Tin,
M.A., B.Litt., I.E.S.
U Tin, K.S.M., A.T.M.

U Kyi O, B.A., K.S.M., A.T.M.,
Rev. A. C. Hanna.
Mr. Ch. Duroiselle, M.A.
Mr. H. F. Searle, B.A., I.C.S.

The services of the Dictionary Clerk, Maung Sein, have been invaluable : he has taken a genuine interest in his work and has knowledge of the Dictionary materials in the office and of Burmese which would be of very great assistance to the Editor. The number of persons who have at one time or another sent in slips is 149. Of these, specially meritorious work has been done by the following :—

U Kyi O, B.A., K.S.M., A.T.M., Thaton.
Prof. Pe Maung Tin, M.A., B.Litt. I.E.S., Rangoon.
Mr. J. S. Furnivall, B.A., Rangoon.
U Aggalingara, Danubyu.
Rev. P. Nanda, Chaungu.
U Yazeinda, Ela.
U Nyanadhaza, Danubyu.
Rev. A. C. Hanna, Insein.
U Hnin Hlaing, T.P.S., Tavoy.

U Pe, K.S.M., A.T.M., Magwe.
 U Tin, K.S.M., A.T.M. (Pagan Wundauk-min)
 Saya Kyaw, Thaton.
 U Ba Tan, Danubyu.
 U Khin Maung, Henzada.
 Mr. Duroiselle, M.A., Mandalay.
 U Kethareinda, Danubyu.
 U Tin Sein, Letpadan.
 U Pyinnyalawka, Danubyu.
 Ma Kyi Kyi, Thaton.
 Saya Sein, Shwemyo,
 Rev. J. C. Richardson, Ph. D.
 Mr. G. C. Tew, B.A., Magwe.
 U Thein Maung, Thaton.
 Ma San, Thaton.
 U Chit Pe, Kywegyan, Thaton District.
 Saya Hlaing, Translation Department, Rangoon.
 Saya Yeik, do
 U Khan, do
 Saya Thin, Rangoon.

J. A. Stewart, *Honorary Secretary.*
 Magwe, 11th January 1932.

C. W. DUNN,
*President of the Dictionary
 Sub-Committee.*

Enclosures

- | | |
|--|--------------------------|
| 1. Statement of accounts. | } Being sent to Rangoon. |
| 2. List of furniture. | |
| 3. List of stationery. | |
| 4. List of books. | |
| 5. List of correspondence files. | |
| 6. List of Registers, Account books etc. | |
| 7. List showing contents of cases containing slips | |

Abstract of Receipts and Expenditure from 1st April 1930 to 1st December 1931.

	Rs.	A.	P.		Rs.	A.	P.
1-4-30. Opening balance ..	484	7	9	Expenditure from 1st April 1930 to 31st March 1931.	1,861	2	0
3-9-30. Discount on purchase of books.	2	9	0	Expenditure from 1st April 1931 to 31st December 1931.	647	3	0
1-2-31. Loan received from Mr. Stewart.	200	0	0	Bank charges for remittance. ..	5	8	0
21-3-31. Government's contribution.	2,500	0	0	Balance	673	3	9
Total ..	3,187	0	9	Total ..	3,187	3	0

Of the balance Rs. 158/13/ is in cash with me and Rs. 514/6/9 in the National Bank of India, Mandalay.

J. A. STEWART,
*Honorary Secretary,
 Dictionary Sub-Committee.*

Dictionary

Expenditure from 1st April 1930

	April.	May.	June.	July.	August.
	Rs. A.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A.	Rs. A.	Rs. A. P.
1. Pay of clerk .. ..	..	..	300 0	..	200 0 0
2. Honoraria paid to Sayas ..	53 4	..	..	..	86 12 0
3. Railway and steamer fares and freight .. ..	..	..	..	..	..
4. Purchase of books .. ..	..	..	..	4 8	2 0 0
5. Purchase of stationery .. ..	..	0 13 0	..	..	..
6. Purchase of newspapers .. ..	..	..	..	..	..
7. Purchase of furniture .. ..	..	..	..	..	..
8. Purchase of postage stamps	8 0	5 0 0	10 0	5 0	8 0 0
9. M. O. commission, postage and packing charges .. ..	..	..	..	..	1 0 0
10. Cart and cooly hire .. ..	..	..	..	..	..
11. Printing charges .. ..	..	..	..	..	..
12. Miscellaneous* .. ..	..	..	..	..	..
Total	61 4	5 13 0	310 0	9 8	297 12 0

Rs. A.

- *(1) Loan repaid to Mr. Stewart.. ..
 (2) Postal expenses repaid to contributor

.. 200 0
 — 0 6

Sub-Committee.

to 31st March 1931.

Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	January.	Feb.	March.	Total.
Rs. A P.	Rs. A.	Rs. A, P.	Rs. A P.	Rs. A, P.	Rs. A.	Rs. A.	Rs. A. P.
100 0 0	100 0	100 0 0	100 0 0	110 0 0	100 0	100 0	1,200 0 0
7 0 0	..	..	..	..	..	..	147 0 0
..
45 8 0	2 0	22 0 0	..	5 0 0	3 0	..	85 0 9
5 8 0	..	..	45 0 0	..	..	1 0	52 5 6
..	..	..	..	..	16 4	7 7	23 11 0
8 0 0	..	..	..	..	..	..	8 0 0
14 0 0	8 0	11 0 0	7 0 0	15 0 0	11 0	6 0	108 0 0
5 6 0	..	0 4 0	..	..	..	0 2	6 12 0
..
15 0 0	..	..	10 0 0	..	..	5 0	30 0 0
..	0 6	..	..	..	..	200 0	200 6 0
200 6 0	110 6	133 4 0	162 0 0	121 0 0	130 4	319 9	1,861 2 0

Dictionary Sub-Committee.

Expenditure from 1st April 1931 to 31st December 1931.

	April.	May.	June.	July.	August.	September.	October.	November.	December.	Total.
	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
1. Pay of clerk ..	100 0 0	100 0 0	100 0 0	100 0 0	25 0 0	25 0 0	25 0 0	25 0 0	25 0 0	525 0 0
2. Honoraria paid to Sayas ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
3. Railway and steamer fares and freight ..	..	..	1 3 0	..	..	..	..	..	..	1 3 0
4. Purchase of books ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
5. Purchase of stationery ..	..	..	33 14 0	..	..	..	..	..	..	33 14 0
6. Purchase of newspapers..	7 7 0	..	7 7 0	..	..	14 12 0	..	..	..	29 10 0
7. Purchase of furniture ..	..	..	..	..	..	1 2 0	..	..	..	1 2 0
8. Purchase of postage stamps ..	7 0 0	9 4 0	6 0 0	1 0 0	5 0 0	4 0 0	2 4 0	..	4 0 0	38 8 0
9. M. O. commission, postage and packing charges ..	0 2 0	..	0 8 0	..	..	0 4 0	..	..	..	0 14 0
10. Cart and cooly hire ..	..	..	1 0 0	..	..	..	..	..	..	1 0 0
11. Printing charges ..	..	..	..	..	16 0 0	..	..	..	..	16 0 0
12. Miscellaneous ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total ..	114 9 0	109 4 0	150 0 0	101 0 0	46 0 0	45 2 0	27 4 0	25 0 0	29 0 0	647 3 0

List of furnitures.

1. One small teak box.
2. Eleven deal-wood boxes.
3. One Hammond type-writer.

List of Registers.

1. Postal despatch Registers Vo. I, II, III, and IV.
2. Register of letter received.
3. Statement showing names of contributors and the books allotted to them.
4. Register of Accounts Vol. I and II.
5. Cash Book.
6. Bank Pass Book and cheque book.

List of stationery.

1. Blank slips about 12000 sheets.
2. One packet blank paper (312 sheets)
3. One packet ruled paper (573 sheets)
4. 22 envelopes
5. 121 relief-nibs.
6. Reminder forms on $\frac{1}{2}$ anna stamped post-cards
7. Acknowledgment forms do
8. Two pen-holders.
9. Eighteen sheets of brown paper (for packing)

List of correspondence files.

File No.	Subject.
1 R—1	Correspondence with the Secretary, B. R. S.
2 R—2	Reports and Returns.
3 R—3	Minutes of Dictionary Sub-Committee Meeting.
4 P	Correspondence with Prof. Pe Maung Tin.
5 K	do U Kyi O.
6 H	do U Hnin Hlaing and Mr. Hanna.
7 D	Correspondence with Mr. Dunn
8 D—2	Statement showing number of slips for which Honoraria paid.
9 D—3	Miscellaneous correspondence.
10 D—4	Correspondence with National Bank of India, Mandalay.
11 D—5	Instructions to Readers, Appeal for volunteers,

List of Correspondence files—concl'd.

File No.	Subject.
12 D—6	Notes and suggestions given by
13 C (Pt. I)	} Correspondence with contributors (Men).
14 C (Pt. II)	
15 C (Pt. III)	
16 C—1	do (Pongyis).
17 N—1	Correspondence with Press regarding Dictionary Articles.
18 N—2	Copies of monthly statement of slips received
19 ..	Burmese Dictionary Records of the Rangoon Circle of readers.
..	Stevenson's dictionary revision replies from
..	List of contributors to whom newspapers supplied.

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THE NEGRAIS SETTLEMENT AND AFTER.*

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The settlement at Negrais with its abrupt and tragic end is one of the best known episodes in the history of early English intercourse with Burma. Dalrymple in his celebrated "Oriental Repertory" devoted the greater part (pp. 1-186) of the section on Ava and Pegu to this particular topic and his classic account has naturally been the main source of information for later historians of the period. It is interesting to note however that there is a considerable number of miscellaneous documents in the Home Department, Imperial Records Office, Calcutta, bearing on the topic and that they supply us with additional details about the transactions of that time. Some of these records even continue the story a little beyond the point (December, 1760) at which Dalrymple ended his narrative.

For the better understanding of these documents, the history of the English settlement at Negrais has to be summarised here. Negrais at the mouth of the Bassein River consists of two islands—"the great island" (Haing-Gyi) which served as the seat of the settlement and the Diamond Island.¹ The name Negrais is derived according to Phayre's "History of Burma" (p. 11) from the Burmese Nagarit or "whirlpool where the sea-dragon carries down vessels to the ocean-depths." In 1686, after the failure of Streynsham Master's negotiations with Burma, Fort St. George contemplated a settlement at Negrais, attracted by its possibilities as a trade centre and a place of shelter for ships and possibly by its advantages as a strategic post in the struggle against Siam.² Captain Weltden of the *Curtana* visited and surveyed Negrais in 1687³ but though English colours were hoisted, there was no real occupation or settlement effected at that time.⁴ After the destruction of the Syriam Factory (1743), the idea of establishing a base at Negrais was revived by the Madras Government and a fortified post was constructed there to serve as the headquarters of the Company in Burma (1753).⁵ The new settlement had to struggle from the first against adverse circumstances—an unhappy choice of low, swampy and unhealthy ground; a dearth of competent chiefs; neglect by the Company and the want of a steady supply

* Since writing this paper I have come across Prof. Hall's valuable account of the Negrais tragedy in the Journal of the Burma Research Society and Bengal, Past and Present. He has brought to light important Madras Records. The Bengal Records with which the present paper deals are much less important but I trust they will help to round off the story of Negrais.

1 Hall—"Early English Intercourse with Burma"—p. 129.

2 Hall—"Early English Intercourse with Burma"—pp. 129-132.

3 Dalrymple—"Oriental Repertory"—Ava and Pegu—p. 7.

4 Hall—"Early English Intercourse with Burma"—Appendix IV.

5 Harvey—"History of Burma"—p. 213.

of provisions and other necessities from either Burma or India.¹ Dalrymple (Ava and Pegu—p. 104) mentions the successive chiefs at Negrais—David Hunter, Henry Brooke, John Howe and Thomas Newton—from 1753 to 1759. In the struggle between the Burmans and the Talaings of Pegu, English policy was leaning more and more towards the rising sun of the Alaungpaya dynasty. Alaungpaya himself opened negotiations with Brooke of Negrais² in 1755 which was followed by Captain George Baker's embassy to that king a full account of which covers pp. 47-80 of the section on Ava and Pegu in Dalrymple. The negotiations were taken up by Newton of Negrais who sent in 1757 Ensign Robert Lester on a new mission to the court of the king which led to the conclusion of a treaty. In return for an annual present of a 12 pounder and 200 viss of gunpowder, Alaungpaya granted Negrais and an area 1400 cubits square at Persaim (Bassein) to the English and promised them free trade in Burma and the permission to engage Burmese artificers. Mutual protection was also assured on both sides.³ But the Treaty of 1757 did not solve the difficulties of the English and in 1759 the English settlement was practically withdrawn.⁴ Captain William Henry Southby, who was sent out towards the end of the year to look after the teak collected at Negrais and to secure the right of possession, was along with Captain Hope who had been in charge and with his followers treacherously killed at Negrais (Scott—"Burma"—p. 163) by the Burmans on October 6 and the news was brought back by the *Victoria Snow* (Captain Walter Alves) in November⁵. In 1760, the Company sent Alves on a mission of protest to the court of Burma where ruled now Alaungpaya's son Naungdawgyi who agreed to release the half a dozen English captives and was ready to re-admit the English to Burma provided they settled anywhere else except Negrais and paid duties on trade⁶. Alves left two of the released Englishmen in charge of the Company's timber—James Robertson of Negrais and John Helass, the *ex* chief-mate of the *Fame*—and brought back letters explaining the Negrais massacre from the Burmese point of view from the King, Prince Mangee Norata of Persaim and Antonio, the Governor of Persaim⁷. This is taken to be the end of the episode for the Company was not in a position or mood to exact reparation for the murders. "The English could not return to Negrais as it was not permitted; they would not go to Bassein, for it was seventy miles from the sea, their base; henceforward they concentrated on Rangoon." (Harvey)

The documents in the Home Department, Imperial Records Office, relating to the Negrais affair fall naturally into two groups. The first

1 Dalrymple—"Oriental Repertory"—Ava and Pegu—pp. 26-31.

2 Dalrymple—"Oriental Repertory"—Ava and Pegu—pp. 41-45.

3 Dalrymple—"Oriental Repertory"—Ava and Pegu—pp. 104-130.

4 Harvey—"History of Burma"—pp. 239-240.

5 Dalrymple—"Oriental Repertory"—Ava and Pegu—pp. 131-138.

6 Harvey—"History of Burma"—pp. 244-246.

7 Dalrymple—"Oriental Repertory"—Ava and Pegu—pp. 173-186.

covers the period from 1753, the year of the foundation of the settlement, to 1760 and the return of Alves from his embassy. The second consists of certain documents of 1761-1762 dealing with the aftermath of the Negrais episode. I propose to give some account of the records of the two periods separately.

II.

Though Negrais was settled from Madras yet for geographical reasons the establishment had to look up frequently for help to the English in Bengal. The Court of Directors therefore issued general instructions to the latter in their Letter, dated 31st January, 1755 (Para 13)—“As our Settlement of the Negrais is under the Management of Fort St. George Presidency you must punctually observe and comply with what Our President and Council there shall desire you with regard to sending Shipping, Artificers, Stores, Materials or whatever else may be necessary, and in particular that any Ship which shall be stationed there is relieved in time to be Dispatched home the same Season”. The Fort St. George authorities themselves requested the Council of Fort William to send such help to Negrais from time to time¹. The chiefs of Negrais also on their own part appealed for aid and sent intimations to Calcutta about their situation—some of which have survived. Help from Madras was intermittent for we learn from Newton’s letter dated the 27th August, 1757, that he had received “no Advices from the Govr. & Co. of Fort St. George or any Supplys of Stores from thence these 5 Months past”². Some of these communications are general in nature—thus Henry Brooke reported, on the 25th December, 1753; that Hunter had died of a fever the day before³; and Thomas Newton announced on the 30th March, 1757, of the death of Captain Howe.⁴ Newton’s letter of the 27th August, 1757, quoted above contained “the agreeable news of having fully compleated a Treaty with the Burmah King in which is a full & free Grant to the Honble Company and their Successors of the Island Negraise together with a Tract or Spot of Ground for a Factory at Persiem”. The reference of course is to Alaungpaya’s treaty which however did not materially improve the prospects of the infant settlement. Burman hostility is noticed as early as 1754 for a letter was received on the 23rd December of that year from Brooke to the effect that “the king still continuing much averse to their residing there they are afraid they shall not be able to provide a cargo for the Denham”⁵. The attitude of the Burmans is also alluded to in Newton’s report of the 30th March, 1757, mentioned above. The consequent necessity “for a Guardship to

1 Home Dept. P. P. 1753 (p. 777); L. C. 9. 9. 1754 (para 7); P. P. 1757 (p. 437)

2 Home Dept. P. P. 1757 (p. 338)

3 Home Dept. P. P. 1754 (p. 126)

4 Home Dept. P. P. 1757 (p. 135)

5 Home Dept. P. P. 1754 (p. 620)

protect that Establishment" is emphasised by Brooke's letter of December 7, 1755¹ which asked for the despatch of a ship capable of giving all necessary relief to be sent from Bengal, and by Newton's report referred to just now. On July 30, 1753, 200 'firelocks' were ordered to be sent to the Negrais (Public Proceedings, 1753, p. 414.) In 1754 military reinforcement was requested to which Fort William replied—"It is not in our power to supply you with any Military as we have very few in our Garrison".² Even after the conclusion of the Treaty of 1757, it is interesting to note that it was felt that "a Guardship is absolutely necessary for the security of the Company's settlement".³ Again Newton urged on January 4, 1759, that "an armed ship is so much wanted there".⁴ Other difficulties were not wanting—thus in 1759, Newton at Negrais was, we are told, without "proper assistants as by the death of Mr. Robert Lester, he remains the only Commissioned officer on the Island".⁵ We read in the Public Proceedings of 1757 (p. 338)—"We rec'd a Letter from Mr. Thomas Newton Provisional Chief there dated the 21st Sept...that his Cash likewise begins to be reduced to a low ebb, so that if We could spare some Money together with Men it would be very acceptable". Madras likewise suggested the despatch of treasure to Negrais in a letter mentioned on p. 437 of the same volume of proceedings. Newton was even forced to represent that "unless he receives a supply of Cash it will be impossible for him to support the Settlement many months longer".⁶ The handicaps in the matter of provisions, workmen and shipping are discussed below. Newton's conclusion at the beginning of 1759 was that "unless he receives some necessary supplies it is impossible the Settlement can subsist".⁷

The cumulative effect of all these difficulties was the decision to withdraw from Negrais. On February 15, 1759, the proceedings read as follows—"The Board taking into consideration the Statement of the Settlement at the Negrais—the Gov. & Co. of Madrass having for some years neglected to send any supplies, and their present perplexed situation preventing their paying a necessary regard to the affairs of that place we think it comes properly under our cognizance—and there being near Forty Europeans there—Agreed that we dispatch the *Fanny Snow* thither and direct Mr. Newton to embark on her with all the Europeans he has with him except Three or four to be left to take care of the Timbers and secure our rights of possession, if it may hereafter be thought necessary to resettle there, and that, if there be any Cannon, small arms, or ammunition which he thinks may be serviceable to us here, he put as much on board the *Fanny* as she can take in, and that he proceed hither

1 Home Dept. P. P. 1756 (pp 586-587)

2 Home Dept. P. P. 1754 (p. 533)

3 Home Dept. P. P. 1759 (p. 15)

4 Home Dept. P. P. 1759 (p. 209)

5 P. P. 1759 (p. 15)

6 P. P. 1759 (p. 15)

7 P. P. 1759 (p. 209)

as soon as possible.”¹ The Madras Government was contemplating the despatch of the *Tilbury* and the *Britania* to Negrais to fetch away the Company’s servants and effects as Fort William was informed on March 20; therefore a letter was sent to Madras on that date—“We thinking it for the Company’s Interest some time since sent a sloop to the Negrais and directed Mr. Newton to embark all the Europeans & usefull stores and to proceed to us, leaving only three or four people to take care of the timbers and to keep possession”.²

Newton carried out his instructions accordingly and we find him reporting his arrival at Fort William on May 13, 1759, and not on the 14th as Dalrymple has it³. In obedience to the orders of February 16 and 19, he had set sail from Negrais on April 22, with the *Fanny Snow*, the *Syrian Sloop* and the *Negrais Long Boat* carrying military men and stores and “black people”.⁴ On pages 444-445 of Public Proceedings, 1759, there is preserved a most interesting list of the men thus brought back from Negrais. The names of 35 Europeans and 70 “black people” (Indians of course) are given—the former consisting of “1 Captain; 4 Serjants; 3 Corporals; 2 Drummers; 15 Private Centinels, —3 Gunners; 7 Matrosses”. The non-Europeans in this list were, “11 Carpenters, 6 Bricklayers, 2 Plowmen, 2 Brickmakers, 6 Coolies, 2 Caulkers, 2 Gardeners, 3 Sawyers, 2 Fishermen, 25 Lacars, 2 Boys, 7 Women.”

On July 30, 1759, the council at Fort William resolved to accept Captain Southby’s offer to go to Negrais to take care of the timber lying there as the persons left behind in charge were possibly being negligent. He was advanced six thousand rupees to pay off the military kept at Negrais.⁵ On August 20, Fort St. George was informed “We have consented to land Mr. Southby at the Negrais to take charge of the Company’s timbers there, but have not taken upon us to invest him with any further authority, and that we desire they will forward their directions to him for his further proceedings.”⁶ Madras wrote back on the 17th, 18th, 19th October that the authorities there “readily consent to Mr. Southby’s proceeding to the Negrais to take charge of the Timbers, but as the Honble Company have thought proper to order that Settlement to be withdrawn they have directed him to be particularly careful not to put them to any Expende, further than the Pay of the People left there and His own Allowance, which they have Stipulated at the Sum of fifty Pagodas monthly. That they have likewise informed Him not to make any fresh purchases of Timbers but confine Himself entirely to the sending away such as he shall find, either to them or Us by the

1. P. P. 1759 (p. 210)

2. P. P. 1759, (pp. 316, 318)

3. Dalrymple “Oriental Repertory” Ava and Pegu (p. 131)

4. P. P. 1759, (pp. 441, 443)

5. P. P. 1759, (p. 647)

6. P. P. 1759, (pp. 696-697)

first Conveyances that may offer".¹ We are informed also that all charges incurred by the Bengal authorities on account of the Negrais settlement were debited to Madras.²

In the Public Letter to the Court, December 29, 1759, the last days of the Negrais settlement figure in different parts. The Court is informed that Newton was instructed to withdraw from Negrais leaving only "a Sarjeant and three or four men to take care of the timber" and landed 36 European soldiers (the list quoted above gives 35 names) and military stores in May (Paragraph 14); that Mr. Southby was sent "in quantity of Resident to the Negrais to take care of the Company's Timbers, etc." (Paragraph 18); and that the *Victoria Snow* "returned from the Negrais with an account of Mr. Southby and all the Europeans there having been unhappily cutt off by the Burmans". (Paragraph 125)³ Dalrymple tells us that the survivors of the massacre took refuge in the ships, 47 men and 2 women in the *Shaftsbury* and 13 men, 2 women and 1 child in the *Victoria Snow* (Oriental Repertory, Ava and Pegu-p. 135). An echo of the tragedy of Negrais is recorded in the Public Proceedings of 1760 (pp. 322-323). On May 1st of that year a letter was read from Captain Alves written on April 6th, in Madras. "In a Dutch Vessel a few days before my Arrival here, Mr. John Whitehill came to Negapatam, and Captain Dawson to this Place, from Pegu, the former having agreed to pay two thousand two hundred Pagodas and the other four hundred and twenty Pagodas, for their Ransom, both which Sums were advanced by Armenians at Pegu, and their Bills on this Coast taken for the money, which is paid here since their Arrival on the Coast, Captain Dawson tells me he left at Pegu when he came away Mr. James Robertson, his own two Officers, and three other Englishmen. Mr. Whitehill Brought a Letter to Negapatam from one of the Principal men at Pegu which was wrote by the King of Burmas orders to the President and Council here, what the contents are I have not heard". The letters referred to here reached India before Alves set out from Madras on his embassy to Burma, May 10, 1760. ⁴ Whitehill it may be noted had taken part in 1755 in the attack of the *Arcot Snow* on the King of Burma's boats and therefore got off it must be said rather lightly (Phayre—"History of Burma" pp. 167-158).

The records discussed so far relate to the general history of the settlement of Negrais. There are other documents of the same period which refer to particular aspects of that unfortunate venture which I shall describe next.

1. P. P. 1759 (pc. 1030-1031)

2. P. P. 1759 (p.1039)

3. Public Letters to Court 1759-1760, (pp. 6, 8, 52)

4. Dalrymple "Oriental Repertory" Ava and Pegu (p.139)

III.

The authorities at Fort William were frequently called up, between 1753 and 1759, to supply the two most important of the needs of Negrais—provisions and “artificers”. A large number of entries in the Public Proceedings relates to this matter.

On April 23, 1753, we read—“Ordered the Buxey and Storekeeper to provide the Stores Indented for by Mr. David Hunter to be sent to the Negrais in the Month of August”.¹ On December 3 of the same year, it was learned from Pegu that “David Hunter Esq. at the Negrais is in great distress for want of necessarys of Life”; opportunity was seized therefore of persuading the owner of a private ship bound for Pegu to take on board provisions for Negrais in return for 600 rupees and the Buxey was ordered “to provide and Lade on Board the following Necessarys-Bissenet (?) Rice, Wheat, Sugar, Pork and some Live Provisions”.² On December 24 was received a letter from Thomas Saunders, President of Fort St. George, and on December 26 another from Hunter himself requesting the supply of provisions so that on the 31st it was resolved to send out the *Egmont* “to carry the requested provisions and necessarys”.³ The *Egmont* carried therefore “provisions salted for the use of the Negrais, the Company’s cooper becoming security for the goodness and pickling of those provisions and that they would keep good and fit for use to the Negrais”.⁴ When the provisions reached Negrais, Brooke reported however that “the Casks in general were very bad that most of them wants pickle that some already smell very offensive and that it will take 10 or 12 Hhds of Pickle to fill them up”. The official responsible explained to the Council that the casks had been duly surveyed and the sheep and the fowl were of the best and therefore the smell must be the result of the pickle running out of the cask for which he could not be blamed. The end of the matter was Brooke’s later report that the casks in question being timely supplied with freshmade brine had held out better than expected.⁵ On August 1, 1754, it was resolved at Brooke’s request to send to Negrais—“2000 bags of rice, 300 bags of wheat, 50 sheep, 50 hogs and 15 Leaguers (?) of Batavia Arrack”⁶ and in September the Buxey was ordered to purchase stores for Negrais at the most reasonable terms to be sent by the *Denham* for which he was advanced “5000 Madras rupees”.⁷ Nine hundred bags of rice designed for this purpose were however damaged by gale and were ordered “to be sold at Outcry”. The *Denham* finally carried stores to

1. P. P. 1753 (p. 206)

2. P. P. 1753 (p. 728)

3. P. P. 1753, (pp. 777, 796, 815)

4. P. P. 1754, (p. 73)

5. P. P. 1754, (pp. 232, 236, 422)

6. P. P. 1754, (pp. 352, 353)

7. P. P. 1754, (pp. 440, 461)

Negrais towards the end of the year.¹ On April 13, 1755, Brooke acknowledged the receipt of further stores for the establishment sent by the *Cuddalore* ². The sloop *Bonetta* was sent in November, 1755, with "some necessities and provisions" for Negrais. ³ In 1756, the *Bonetta* returned on January 7 with fresh indents for the use of Negrais and the Buxey was ordered on February 16 to purchase rice at 37 seers per Arcot rupee for this purpose. ⁴ The supplies continued in 1757-on January 10, it was resolved to send the *Fort William* to Negrais with 3700 bags of grain; on January 22, it was agreed that a country ship bound for the same destination should carry "such stores as could be spared with a few Bales of Broad Cloth"; Newton acknowledged on March 30 the arrival of the stores carried by the *Fort William* and requested fresh stores on September 21; the Buxey was ordered on August 8 "to provide Rice, Doll, Ghee, Sugar, etc., for the Negraise to be sent on the *Hunter Schooner*"; and on December 1, "to Lade the Stores designed for the Negraise on the *Drake* with 2000 bags of Rice", ⁵.

In the Public Proceedings of 1758, nothing has survived about the Negrais settlement. Newton's difficulties at Negrais in 1759 and the decision to withdraw have already been discussed above.

The second urgent need of the Negrais settlement was the supply of artisans and labourers. The authorities in Calcutta informed Fort St. George on April 23, 1753, that "we are apprehensive we shall not be able to prevail on any Artificers (who are chiefly Jentoos) to proceed to the Negrais" ⁶. An effort had to be made however and on June 10, the Buxey was ordered to try his best in the matter and to lay their terms before the Board.⁷ Accordingly that official reported on July 3 that he could not find any smiths, carpenters or stone cutters willing to go to Negrais on any terms but coolies and bricklayers were available. Their terms however were exorbitant-, "A bricklayer mistri wants Rs. 12 a month, a mate Rs. 10 and the bricklayers 7, a head cooly 7, etc. besides which they insist on rice, dal, ghi and salt daily to be allowed them... Carpenters and caulkers may be procured when all the ships come in". ⁸ The sloop *Success* was sent to Negrais with 20 bricklayers and 20 coolies ⁹ and when that vessel was detained by the monsoon one month's wages had to be advanced to these men. ¹⁰ More "artificers" and "husbandmen" were sent on the *Egmont* to

1. PP. 1754, (pp. 484, 620)

2. P. P. 1755, (p. 257)

3. P. P. 1755, (pp. 448-449, 465-466)

4. P. P. 1756, (pp. 586-588, 712)

5. P. P. 1757, (p. 7a, 20, 135, 338, 235, 429)

6. P.P. 1753, (p. 207)

7. P.P. 1753 (p. 300)

8. P.P. 1753 (pp. 364-365)

9. Public Letter to Court, 4. 1. 1754, (para 10)

10. P. P. 1753 (p. 611)

Negrais as we learn from the Public Proceedings of 1754 (p. 69) and the Public Letter to Court of February 28, 1754 (para 3) but still more were wanted for Brooke wrote on August 18 that "Artificers will be required to carry on the Works begun there with any tolerable despatch". He also sent back at the same time six of the people sent him whose disorders had rendered them useless.¹ Consequently the *Denham* in November carried "as many artificers as we were able to procure on terms particularized on the Enclosed List." The Chief was also informed that the wives and families of the artificers sent had been paid sums of money which should be deducted from their wages and he was required to send a return of the wages paid at Negrais by every conveyance.² In January 1755, Surgeon Andrews of the *Egmont* was paid Rs. 250 for attending to the "artificers" and soldiers in garrison at Negrais (P.P. 1755—pp. 31, 38). On January 6, 1755, Negrais was informed that an allowance of five rupees had been paid to each of the families of the coolies sent to Negrais.³ Again on September 8 of the same year, the *Buxey* was ordered, on the complaint of the wives of artificers and labourers at Negrais, to advance one-fourth of their husbands' wages to be deducted at the time of payment by the Chief at Negrais.⁴ The next entry on the subject belongs to the Public Proceedings of October, 1757, which tells us that Newton wrote on August 27 that "Carpenters & Bricklayers & indeed Artificers & Workmen of all kinds are much wanted" and that he repeated on September 21 his request for "Artificers and Workmen with Tools & Stores of all kinds as already Indented for."⁵ We have already seen that 70 "black people" returned with Newton to Bengal in May 1759 and a complete list of their names is preserved on p. 445 of the Public Proceedings of 1759. In this list occur in a mutilated form many familiar Indian names of today—amongst others, Manik, Bhagavan, Manikdas, Jagannath, Chand, Kesto, Lakshmikanta—all carpenters; Gopal, Gokul, Darbari—bricklayers; Govindaram—Cooly; Durgaram—gardener; Panchuram—fisherman; Moses, Antonio, Nasir, Hyat, Abdalla, Pir Mohamed, Amir—lascars; Navaji-tyndal and Ambika, Lakshmi—women.

From the commercial standpoint, Negrais proved to be an unfortunate selection but there was at least one valuable commodity available there—timber. The first instalment of timber from Negrais was brought by the *Cuddalore* to Calcutta on September 2, 1754 the sale of which realised 1237 arcot rupees.⁶ Brooke's action was probably at the instance of Madras the authorities of which received thanks from Calcutta "since timber and planks are generally in demand at this place and may

1 P. P. 1754 (p. 422)

2 P. P. 1754 (p. 533)

3 P. P. 1755 (p. 2)

4 P. P. 1755 (p. 378)

5 P. P. 1757 (p. 338)

6 P. P. 1754 (pp. 422, 489)

by their sale in some measure recompense the Company for the loss of the Demorage (sic) which will become due on the ship to be detained at the Negrais".¹ Brooke was therefore requested, as timber was in great demand and yielded a considerable profit, to send as large a quantity as possible by the *Denham*.² The *Egmont* brought in December, 1754, invoice for "160 teak timbers"³ and in February next year the *Cuddalore* brought another for 90.⁴ The *Cuddalore* timber fetched a total price, on the second occasion, of rupees 1198-12 as. They were sold in 18 lots of 5 each and the buyers were Sobharam Poddar (7 lots), Joseph Derrickson (4 lots), Gokul Sen (3 lots) and Captain Findlay, Mr. Campbell, Manikshaw and Ramchand Dutt (1 each).⁵ The *Denham* which was long detained at Negrais brought a fresh supply of teak in January 1756 which was ordered to be sold by outcry on March 10.⁶ We read in the Public Proceedings of 1757 (pp, 225, 215) that the schooner *Hunter* was ordered to be "in readiness to proceed to the Negraise as soon as possible that we may request the Chief there to provide such Timber and plank as Capt^y Brohier has Indented for in his Inventory" and that the list of materials wanted by Brohier for the proposed works at Fort William included 2000 teak timbers 16 ft. to 25 ft. long and 9 ins. to 15 ins. square and 2000 teak planks 18 ft. to 20 ft. long, 12 ins. to 15 ins. broad and 2 ins. thick. At the same time the Buxey and the Master Attendant were ordered "to make Indents of the Timbers & Plank which may be wanted in their Offices for the year, that We may transmit them to the Negraise".⁷ Fort St. George requested also the despatch of the *Boscawen* "to the Negraise with a supply of Treasure, Rice & other Stores to fill up with Timber & Plank & Return her to them in January or February".⁸ In January 1759 was received a report from Newton that in compliance with the indent of October 6, 1757 (sent by the *Hunter*), he had collected above 2000 fine teak timbers and was in expectation of a thousand more, but that he had no ships to send them by. "He therefore requests a ship may be sent to him lest the French should get intelligenced of the valuable quantity of timber laying there, and thereby might be tempted to make descent on that place".⁹ On February 15, a second report came from Newton stating that 130 teak timbers had been sent per the *Fort William* and that he had collected more than 4000 such and could in a short time provide a larger quantity if he had money to pay for them. (P. P. 1759, p. 209). When Newton evacuated Negrais on April 22, 1759, he was required, as we have seen,

1 P. P. 1754 (p. 462)

2 P. P. 1754 (p. 533)

3 P. P. 1754 (p. 620)

4 P. P. 1755 (p. 106)

5 P. P. 1755 (p. 153)

6 P. P. 1756 (pp. 631, 712)

7 P. P. 1757 (p. 238)

8 P. P. 1757 (p. 437)

9 P. P. 1759 (p. 14)

to leave three or four men behind to look after the timber collected but it is clear that there was not a complete abandonment of the settlement as on the authority of Dalrymple ("Oriental Repertory"—Ava and Pegu-
p. 135), no less than 60 men, 4 women and 1 child escaped to the ships after the massacre of the sixth of October that year. Fort St. George requested on May 10, 1759, that arrangements should be made to bring away from Negrais the four thousand timbers collected by Newton¹ and Captain Southby was sent out to take charge of these when he was instructed by Madras to try to fetch them to India. After Southby's murder, the Court was informed on December 29, 1759, "that great part of the Timbers and Stores there belonging to the Company had been plunder'd and burnt".² But Alves' report was that the teak at Negrais being in a swampy place had not caught fire and at the end of his embassy in 1760, he left instructions to Robertson and Helass to look after the timber at Negrais and Persaim, the King having given leave to take them away.³

The movement of ships between Bengal and Negrais occupies a considerable space in our records. In July, 1753, it was agreed by the Council to affix an advertisement at the gates for the hiring of a sloop before the 15th August for Negrais. The only vessel forthcoming—the *Success* of Mr. Thos. Wooley—was hired for 1500 arcot rupees and surveyed by the Company's officers and set out finally in October,⁴ with stores etc. Another private sloop bound for Pegu was prevailed upon in December to carry provisions to Negrais in return for 600 arcot rupees as freight.⁵ At the request of Madras and Hunter the *Egmont* (Captain Tolson) was sent in February, 1754, to relieve the *Colchester* at Negrais.⁶ The sloop *Cuddalore* brought letters and timber from Negrais to Bengal in September.⁷ The *Denham* (Captain Meard) was "appointed to relieve the *Egmont*" and was sent out in November for this purpose and this enabled the *Egmont* to return to Bengal in December.⁸ A letter of Brooke dated February 3, 1755, was brought by the *Cuddalore* again on February 20, together with fresh timber and the same vessel carried stores to Negrais and returned in June.⁹ The *Eastcourt* (Captain Evans) was ordered to be in readiness to relieve the *Denham*¹⁰ but evidently the plan was not carried out. The *Bonetta* sloop was sent in November to order the *Denham* back.¹¹ The *Denham* accordingly returned, reaching Balasore

1 P. P. 1759 (p. 450)

2 Public Letter to Court 29-12-1759 (para 125)

3 Dalrymple "Oriental Repertory" Ava and Pegu (pp. 137, 180-181)

4 P. P. 1753 (pp. 365, 394, 413, 452, 611)

5 P. P. 1753 (pp. 728, 797)

6 P. P. 1753 (pp. 777-778, 796); P. P. 1754 (pp. 131, 232)

7 P. P. 1754 (pp. 422)

8 P. P. 1754 (pp. 440, 550, 620)

9 P. P. 1755 (pp. 106, 109, 257)

10 P. P. 1755 (pp. 338, 389)

11 P. P. 1755 (pp. 465-466)

Road on January 11, 1756, when Captain Meard filed a protest against the long detention of his vessel at Negrais. Brooke's explanation of the necessity of this delay for the sake of the protection of the settlement had already been brought by the *Bonetta*. The *Denham* could be sent back only because the *Prince George* (Captain Hagues) had in the meantime arrived at Negrais.¹ The detention of the *Denham* at Negrais for a year apparently had its parallel in the earlier case of the *Colchester* for on that occasion the Directors wrote to Fort William that any ship stationed at Negrais should be "relieved in time to be Dispatched home the same Season, to prevent such another Instance of extraordinary Detention as the *Colchester's* and we think if you had exerted yourselves the *Egmont* might have been sent sooner to her Relief".² In January, 1757, it was agreed to send a country-ship with stores to Negrais and the *Fort William* also was sent with grain to the same destination. The *Fort William* in its turn was detained at Negrais also. The schooner *Hunter* was sent in October, 1757, under Captain Nicholson and at the same time the *Welcome*, a country-ship which touched at Negrais, brought letters from Newton. Further stores were sent by the *Drake* in December.³ The *Fanny Snow*, we are told, carried letters and papers from Negrais in May, 1758,⁴ but as noticed before no records of that year concerning Negrais have come down to us. The *Drake* had the misfortune to be detained at Dagon under an embargo, we learn, but luckily two other vessels were available in 1759—the Company's *Long Boat* had been brought in to Negrais by Captain Swallow of the *Charlotte* on November 11, 1758 and on May 20 of the same year the *Syrian Sloop* abandoned by her master, Mr. Charles Price, was taken over by the authorities.⁵ The *Fort William* (Captain Mills) being in a very bad condition owing to leaks was dismissed from the Company's service on December 6, 1758, and the owners of the vessel were paid Rs. 30,000 on March 6, 1759, and another Rs. 27,750 on July 2 next as the freight during the detention of the ship in the Company's service mainly at Negrais which amounted to no less than 1 year 11 months 3 days—from March 24, 1757 to February 27, 1759.⁶ Meanwhile in February, 1759, the *Fanny Snow* carried to Newton the orders for withdrawal. The evacuation was effected by three vessels—the *Fanny Snow* carrying 21 Europeans and 15 Indians, the *Syrian Sloop*—11 and 39 and the *Negrais Long Boat*—3 and 16⁷ respectively. The last vessel with which we are concerned is the *Victoria Snow* (Captain Walter Alves) which carried the ill-fated Southby to Negrais and brought the new of his murder back. This ship was purchased by Madras during her siege and sent to Bengal in June, 1759.⁸

1 P. P. 1756 (pp. 586-587, 631, 639, 678, 681)

2 Public Letter from Court—31, 1, 1755 (para 13)

3 P. P. 1757 (pp. 7a, 20, 135, 336, 429)

4 P. P. 1759 (p. 14)

5 P. P. 1759 (pp. 14-15)

6 P. P. 1759 (pp. 15, 209, 554, 556)

7 P. P. 1759 (pp. 210, 444, 445)

8 Public Letter to Court 29-12-1759 (paras 18 and 125)

THE NEGRAIS SETTLEMENT AND AFTER.

The sailings between Bengal and Burma naturally depended upon the monsoons as Prof. Hall emphasised in his "Early English Intercourse with Burma" (pp 92-93). The winter months were the most propitious time for these voyages. For example we find from our records that the *Egmont* and the *Denham* left Bengal for Negrais in February and November while the *Cuddalore* and the *Denham* started on their return trips in February and January respectively. No sailings are mentioned either way from May to September except the journeys of the *Cuddalore* in August, 1754, and of a ship which brought a letter from Brooke in June, 1755. The October gales prevented too early sailings again in winter. The *Success* had to return to Bengal on its first venture in October, 1754¹ while a violent storm on the 1st and 2nd October, 1754, damaged and "dismasted" the *Denham* and thus held up its departure.²

One last point may be gleaned from the records we have been discussing so long. The voyage from Bengal to Burma or back covered on the average two to three weeks. I am giving below the dates between which some of the voyages from Negrais to Bengal took place:—

The *Cuddalore* between August 18 and September 2, 1754.

The *Cuddalore* between February 3 and February 20, 1755.

The *Denham* between December 23, 1755 and January 11, 1756.

The *Welcome* between September 21 and October 10, 1757.

The *Fanny Snow* between April 22 and May 13, 1759.

The only clear evidence of the duration of the trip from Bengal to Negrais is that of the voyage of the *Bonetta* in 1755, the two extreme limits in this case being November 10 and December 7.

IV.

The *Victoria Snow* carried Walter Alves back from his Burman embassy in 1760, leaving Negrais on November 30 and reaching Balasore Road as early as December 10, in the company of the *Calcutta Snow* (Captain Baillie).³ On January 15, 1761, Alves wrote a letter to Vansittart giving an account of the "unavoidable expenses" incurred during his visit to Burma.⁴ The king and the Governor of Meam (?) had, we are told, taken the goods they wanted but Alves could not fully realise the commodities ordered to be delivered to him at Perseim by the king before the lading of his vessel with the Company's timbers was completed. I am quoting below the accounts submitted by Alves.

"To Sundry Goods which I was obliged to give away as Presents whilst among the Burmahs, as Per Account Particulars—4361.

1 P. P. 1753 (p. 610).

2 Public Letter to Court 7-12-1754 (paras 14 and 15).

3 Dalrymple "Oriental Repertory" Ava and Pegu (p. 179).

4 Copy of Public Consultations, India Office, January-February 1761 (pp. 60-62).

To Personal Expences, Boathire, Linguist's Wages, Olios etc. as Per Accot. Particulars—2147.

To Cash paid for Sundrys on Account of Snow Victory 849-14

To 707 Tekals left with Messrs. Robertson and Kelass (*sic*) which reduced to A Rs. amots to as per their Receipt—883.

To Priviledge as Commander of *Victoria* from 14th Feby. to 14th Decr. 1760 at 300 A Rs. per Month—3000.

To Do, for Chief Mate for the same time at 100 A Rs. per Mo.—1000 Arct. Rupees 12241.6

By Cash received at Madras, from Dawson Drake Esqr—1000

By Ballance due 11241,6.
12241,6 "

Alves brought away some timber in his ship as we learn above but of course more remained behind. On June 29, 1761, T. Amphlett wrote to Vansittart¹—"The great Occasion we shall soon have for a fresh Supply of Teak Timbers, for making of Gun Carriages particularly for the Works next to be executed at the new Fort, makes me think it necessary to recommend to the Board to consider of the most eligible method for transporting to this Place the Honble. Company's Timbers which have been so long lying at the Negraise ready to ship off." He advised advertising the freight to be given for bringing away any of those timbers. The scale suggested by him as an inducement was—20 Arcot rupees for every timber 30 feet long and upwards, 16 rupees for those between 25 and 30 feet, and 12 rupees for timber between 20 and 25 feet, and eight annas for every solid foot in timber under 20 feet long. Amphlett wrote again to Vansittart on February 11, 1762,² urging the arrangement for a speedy conveyance for the remainder of the Company's teak lying at Negrais which would soon be wanted for the interior buildings of the New Fort. He recommended sending an order to have all the timber cut square as soon as possible for a ship could bring nearly double the quantity of solid timber when squared as when round.

It is far more interesting to note however that Captain Alves was sent on a second embassy in 1761 which Dalrymple has not mentioned. He was supplied with letters to the King of Burma and the Burmese notables in reply to communications brought from these personages in December 1760.³ The letter from Vansittart to the King of Burma which Alves carried in 1761 runs as follows⁴:

1 Copy of Public Consultations, India Office, June July 1761 (pp. 132-133).

2 Copy of Public Consultations, India Office, January-April 1762 (pp. 104-105).

3 Dalrymple—"Oriental Repertory"—Ava and Pegu—(pp. 182—186).

4 Copy of Public Consultations, India Office, July-October, 1761 (pp. 101-103)

THE NÉGRAIS SETTLEMENT AND AFTER.

“ *FORT WILLIAM*, 4th September, 1761.

TO THE MOST HIGH AND MIGHTY KING OF PEGU, THE SOLE AND SUPREME LORD OF THE THREE PEGU KINGDOMS WITH ALL THEIR PROVINCES, MASTER OF THE MINES OF GOLD, SILVER, DIAMONDS, RUBBIES, SAPPHIRES, EMERALDS, AMBER, AND ALL MANNER OF PRECIOUS STONES ETC., ETC., ETC. THE HONBLE HENRY VAN SITTART ESQR. GOVERNOR OF BENGAL, SENDS WISHES FOR HIS HEALTH AND LONG AND HAPPY REIGN,

The gracious Letter your Majesty was pleased to honor me with by the Hands of Captain Alves was safely deliver'd to me, and made me happy beyond Expression. According to your Majesty's Commands I have now sent Captain Alves back to wait upon you and have sent under his Charge such of the Things as your Majesty wrote for as could be procur'd at this Time. A list thereof is enclos'd with this Address, and Captain Alves will have the Honor of laying them at your Feet. As Captain Alves' Vessel is too small to carry the Horse and Mare and Male and Female Camels you were pleas'd to write for, I propose with your Majesty's Permission to send a larger Ship by which Opportunity they shall be forwarded, together with such other of the Articles as your Majesty wrote for as can be procured at this place. I request you will dispatch Captain Alves back as soon as it may be convenient to your Majesty, and request you will give him your Royal Permission to bring away as many of the Company's Timbers as possible, and that you will also give leave to Messrs. Robertson and Helass the two Englishmen who were left by your Permission to take care of the said Timbers to have them brought down to a proper Place that they may be ready to be embark'd on any other Ship that may be sent for them. I with Pleasure observe your royal Indulgence in granting me your Permission to establish a Factory under your auspicious Government upon Condition of paying the Duties establis'd at your Court, which I shall take the first favourable Opportunity of Embracing hoping thereby to create a firm and lasting Friendship and Alliance with your most Gracious Majesty and be a Means of settling a Trade advantageous to both Nations.

BROADCLOTH SUPERFINE

Red and Blue	..	2 Pieces
Do. and Green	..	1
Scarlet	..	3
Saxon Green	..	2
Black	..	1
Yellow	..	2
Crimson Velvet	..	2
Striped Dooreas	..	10
Mulmuls	..	5
Cossacs	..	5

Hatts Gold Lace	5
Pistols silver mounted	2
Fouling Pieces	4
Atters	3 Small Phials
Slippers	10 Pair
A Clock	
Gold Lace	22½ Yards

“ *FOR MUNGEE NARRATAN*

1 Peice Dooreas.”

A second letter ¹ was addressed to

“THEIR HIGHNESSES THE VIZIERS TO THE MOST HIGH AND MIGHTY KING OF PEGU”” and is almost a transcript of the first except that at the end occurs an additional sentence “I hope that through your Assistance the Letter and Presents for the King will meet with a favourable Reception and that you will assist Captain Alves in all his Business.”

The third letter ² is quoted below.

“*FORT WILLIAM, 4th September, 1761.*

TO MUNGEE NARATAN, GOVERNOR OF PERSAIM, and all the MARITIME PLACES BELONGING to the HIGH AND MIGHTY KING OF PEGU.

Captain Alves made me acquainted with the Assistance you gave him in the Affairs he had to transact at Court. It gives me sensible Pleasure. I have now return'd Captain Alves with a Letter and Presents for the King, and shall soon send another Ship, and if through your friendly Endeavours, His Majesty will be pleased to protect and encourage our Merchants who go to his Country to trade, Commerce will be renew'd and flourish and our Friendship duly encrease. In the mean time I must desire you will assist Captain Alves in any Requests he may have to make to the King and his Court.”

The last letter ³ of the series was a reply to the communication received from the notorious Antonio.

“*FORT WILLIAM, 4th September, 1761.*

TO ANTHONY—DEPUTY GOVERNOR OF PERSAIM, AND ALL THE MARITIME PLACES BELONGING TO THE HIGH AND MIGHTY KING OF PEGU.

I have received with great Pleasure your Friendly Letter of the 24th November last by Captain Alves. Your Assurances of Friendship and the Assistance you have given to the English of which Captain Alves has made me acquainted, gave me sensible Pleasure. I now return Captain Alves

1 Copy of Public Consultations, India Office, July-October, 1761 (pp. 104-105)

2 Copy of Public Consultations, India Office, July-October, 1761 (p. 106)

3 Copy of Public Consultations, India Office, July-October, (p. 107)

with a Letter and Present to the King. In the meantime I request you will lend Captain Alves all your Assistance in any Request he may have to make to the King and be persuaded of my readiness to serve you on any Occasion."

The tone of the letters quoted above is rather surprising for the Negrais massacre was barely two years old. Apparently the conquest of Bengal and the consequent problems had opened new vistas and Burma was fast receding from the Company's vision. The explanations and excuses which Alves brought back from the Burmese court in 1760 were therefore gladly seized as a welcome outlet from the situation created by the Negrais affair.

Alves returned from his second embassy at the beginning of 1762 and applied on April 8, 1762, for permission to go to Madras to recoup his health¹. He brought from Burma a letter from the King written in a highly characteristic style².

"I the most High & Mighty King of all Kings—The beloved son of Good Fortune & the most fortunate master of all these my dominions, Sole & supreme Lord of the three Pegue Kingdoms with all their provinces also—master of the mines of Gold, Silver, Diamonds, Rupees (rubies?), Sapphires, Emeralds, Amber & all manner of precious stones, in these my dominions now at the golden city in the Golden palace under a silver canopy. Master of all good Fortune with a cheerful countenance & a free heart, together with a good will towards the governor of Bengal.

I wrote you last year by Captain Alves, that as Perseem is a Sea port, if you want it for a place to trade at, you may either buy or sell as you see fit, there, now again Capt. Alves has arrived & brought a Cargo with him to sell as also letters & presents, to me from you all which I received in good order. This new instance of the friendship of the English Nation which you have shown in these particulars I wrote you for gives me great pleasure and nothing but its continuance can give me any addition to what I now feel. As you represent in your letters the king of England and the company, with whom, I as a king desire to live in Friendship & by mutual commerce & good offices cultivate the interest of both nations and as an instance of my only intentions I have conferred a title (as I look on all Englishmen in the same light as if they were born in my dominions) & have given to the company any square piece of ground, at or near Perseem, not exceeding three hundred & seventy five feet, on a side or fifteen hundred feet in circumference to them to build on as it seems most for their interest has also given orders, that whoever you appoint may send, any Timbers, Plank or Goods,

1 Copy of Public Consultations, India Office, January-April, 1762 (p. 177)

2 Public Consultations, 1762 (pp. 86-88)

down to Negraise without molestation and if I can oblige you in anything else signify in what manner & I will readily grant your request. As at present I am at war with my rebellious slaves, & am in want of Arms etc. if any ships are sent by you hereafter let them bring these things as also all kinds of Goods, which were formerly brought & they may buy & sell, on the same terms that were settled during the reigns of former kings, as for some years past my slaves have not had any opportunities of being supplied with what commodities, they like best, and the company's ships shall have all immunities that were formerly granted, by any kings or my predecessors, and Merchants Ships on the same footing also as formerly, & may buy or sell as they please, after paying Duties &c. as usual. I have issued out my orders that Capt. Alves may sell his goods, & shall dispatch him back as soon as he is ready to go.

The horses & camels you now sent as they are not of the largest size shall be glad you would send me ten or twelve of each larger, if any are to be got, as there was one Englishman that was in Ava, & was not relieved before with the others. I have now delivered him to Captain Alves, in order to be sent to you the Jewels you have sent for sale I have taken, & shall send you the returns in rubies by Captain Alves when he comes up again to my golden city as they are all there I have none here being at war, busy reducing my rebellious slaves.

Done at Meelaw, the 14th Day of the Moon Nattoa in the year 1123, according to the Burmah Era, & answers to December the 10th, 1761."

In spite of the assurances of the King of Burma contained in the letter just quoted, the second mission of Alves (1761) must be pronounced a failure for there was always a difference between royal promises and their executions by subordinate officials. Alves' report about this embassy has not come down but light is thrown upon the whole episode by the account left by Robertson and Helass of their experiences in Burma. These men left behind by Alves in 1760 to look after the timber withdrew along with him at the end of 1761 because it was felt to be useless to prolong their residence in that country. On return they submitted the following report—¹.

"To the Hon'ble Henry Van Sittart Esqre., President & Governor & Council of Fort William.

"Hon'ble Sir & Sirs,

From the Time Captain Alves left the Negraise in the Month of November 1760, to his return in October 1761 there had been nothing but a continual disturbance over all the province of Perseem carried on by Antione Gregory, and one named Pughoo, who is Governor of a

1—Public Consultations, 1762 (pp. 81-85)

Town called little Quowquow each these three in his turn endeavouring to convince the others of the authority he had from his king to act as Governor of the province and to devise as much against the other two as lay in his power. These differences the king never thought proper to decide in either of their favours. Tho' applied to by all more than once, nay they carried it so far that in the month of June the said Pughoo went to attack Antony in his Town of Quowquow, with an open force & having stationed himself with about twelve boats in the mouth of a small river to stop all communication going or coming he in the night (by mistake) fired at two boats, in which was one of the king's counsellors, & one of his general officers he then endeavoured to convince them that he was appointed by the king as Governor of the Province & they could not or pretended not to know which of the two were best entitled to the Government, but ordered both to go up with them & have it determined by the king & he according to his former custom discharged one after receiving some presents, & kept the other some months, & then discharged him with a superior authority than that which he had issued out to the first. It appeared to us that these difference were intended by some about the Court with a view to draw money out of the Hands of Gregory & Antony, whom they thought were possessed of a great deal of it, from sundry Europeans during the reign of the late king. In this Gregory served as a tool for those about Court & Pughoo in the same character served Mungio Norrata. They both acted their parts so well that if Gregory's & Antony's words may be depended upon, in this & which is confirmed by others, they have paid two hundred and eighty Viss of Silver (Rs. 35,000 ARS) & upwards since November 1760. In the month we applied to Antony for people to square the Timbers & that we might obtain an answer from him urged that it would be necessary to have a good many squared, for building before any gentleman arrived from Bengal or Madras as a chief. He said as he had both squared timbers & plank he would build such a house, as would give satisfaction to any gentleman who should come from the governor at Bengal or Madras. We then observed to him that we had been five months here without being able to render any service to the Hon'ble Company for want of Coolies notwithstanding the License granted by the king for us to reside here & look after the Timbers as also an Olio from his majesty for him to furnish us with coolies or anything we applied for nay so far from having it in our power to gather the Timbers together & secure them before the rainy season came on, we could not get any body to serve us. That should we at any time have occasion to go to Quowquow, to buy the rice for the Hou, it was with great difficulty if we got any towers. He answered in general that his affairs had been in such a situation of late that his people had been much harassed but in a short time he would be able to give a sufficient quantity of Coolies, & he would take care that the Timbers were gathered together & secured from being carried away during the

Rainy Season. We could well see that all these promises were made without any view of performance, & Gregory out of pretence of building any city for the king demanded the only Burmah we had to assist him which we with some trouble protected as we had him shooting for us. In the month of April having received a Letter directed to Mr. Robertson from Mr. Heylan the second officer of the Surat Ship which was seized at Rangoon in the year 1758, he complained much of his bad State of Health, & want of money. We would gladly have eased him in sending him some money but considering of our then situation we thought We thought proper to consult Antony of a Method, to furnish him with some necessary assistance which we did after communicating to him the contents of Mr. Heylan's Letter, he persuaded us against sending money but advised us, to write a Letter to Callabow requesting him to advance some money on our account & that he would forward the letter by a man, who commanded one of his Majesty's war boats. We readily agreed to this his method, and filled a letter by his instructions for Callabow & after he had directed it, we saw it delivered to the said Burmah, but it never came to the Hands of Mr. Heylan. These observations we only take the liberty to lay before your Honors, to shew the impossibility there was to get coolies to transport the Timbers belonging to the Hon' Company to a convenient place as also to get ourselves acquainted with the number or quantity there was of them for although we applied several times for some we were always put off with fair promises or undetermined answers. When Capt. Alves arrived with the Letters & presents from your Honors, we thought it would be more, for the interest of the Hon' Company, that he should apply for Coolies, which he did and as he has wrote a full account of his proceedings in a Letter to his Honor the Governor, We humbly think our saying any more with regard to our actions, or reasons for leaving the place would be superfluous. We must observe to your Honors that we have paid all debts, which we owed to the county people, & with this we lay before you an account of the money as expended, which we received from Captain Alves. By your orders we always made it a maxim to be as frugal as possible as we could in laying it out & hope it will appear so before your Honors. There are now almost eight hundred Timbers, remaining at Perseem & the Chokey of those which came under our observations belonging to the Honble Company.

We are,

Honble Sir & Sirs,
Your most obedient & Humble Servants,
JAMES ROBERTSON, JOHN HELASS,
On Board the Fanny, 16th Jany. 1762."

The above record in a graphic manner illustrates the difficulties of the English in Burma after the Negrais affair though unfortunately, Alves' letter alluded to is missing. Heylan probably was the man

THE NEGRAIS SETTLEMENT AND AFTER.

released through Alves' intercession mentioned in the King of Burma's letter quoted above. The ruler of Burma at that time was the eldest son of the great Alaungpaya, Naungdawgyi who reigned from 1760 to 1763. The withdrawal of Robertson and Helass after their experience narrated above broke the last link with Burma and the curtain was finally rung down on Negrais and the attempts at trade and settlement connected with that name. It only remains to take a glance at the accounts presented by Robertson and Helass when they were abandoning their thankless task.¹

“*FORT WILLIAM, 8 March 1762.*”

ACCOUNT of Sundry Expences paid out of the Cash We receiv'd from Capt. Walter Alves by order of the Hon'ble HENRY VAN SITTART ESQ., etc., Council of FORT WILLIAM.

For Sundry Articles receiv'd from Capt. Alves for the use of the Ho & ca⁷⁷

For Boat hire returng, from Negraise in Novr. 1760-14. For Boat hire going and returng, from Perseem to Quowquow at sundry times—40. For a Boat—25. For carrying a letter to Rangoon to be informd by a Dutch Capt. there of News from the Coast Augst. 1761-55. For boat hire going on board the Ship Patty—30—164.

For repairing the Ho. in the Mo. Decr. 1760—40. For repairing Do and some Buildings in April 1761-70. Advd. to buy Pollies, Bamboos and rattans in the Month of November 1761-75—185—426.

For Sundry Articles which we gave as a present to Gregory in the Month of January 1761-55. For Sundry Articles which we gave as a present to Antony in the Month of March—1761-30. For Sundries which we gave presents to different Burmahs at times—45-130.

For Wages to a Servant which Capt. Alves left with us when he went to Bengal—95 For a Gunner Killing Provisions for us—105-200

For Sundry Provisions from the Mo. of Novr 1760 to the Month of January 1762—623. For Sundry small Necessaries—50. For Provisions for Capt. Alves to serve us going to Bengal—124—797.

Tikals—1553.

Which at 100 Tikals for 225 ARS IS Arcot Rs. 1941-4.

CALCUTTA SNOW off
Negraise
11 Jany. 1762

Errors Exd.
JAMES ROBERTSON
JOHN HELASS.”

PHAYRE'S PRIVATE JOURNAL OF HIS MISSION TO AVA IN 1855.

TRANSCRIBED WITH NOTES AND AN INTRODUCTORY NOTE BY D.G.E. HALL

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

The following extract from the private journal of Major Arthur Phayre, first Commissioner of Pegu, covers the period from August 1st, 1855, when the mission left Rangoon on its journey towards Amara-poor, to September 11th, 1855, two days before its official reception at the palace by Mindon Min. The original MS. journal in two volumes was purchased some years ago, along with 80 autograph letters of Lord Dalhousie to Phayre, by the University of Rangoon. The letters are given in full in my "Dalhousie-Phayre Correspondence, 1852-1856" (Oxford University Press, 1932). The extract from the journal given here comes at the end of the first MS. volume. The second MS. volume begins with an entry under the date January 1st, 1859, and continues therefrom. I have been unable to discover any intervening volume or volumes connecting up the two dates or completing the story of the Ava Mission of 1855. This point is discussed in section 6 of my Introduction to the Dalhousie-Phayre Correspondence, to which I must refer the reader. My own impression is that Phayre became too busy to continue the task of writing a private journal of the mission after September 11th; but as nowhere in the journal does he make any reference to the cause of its discontinuance at so interesting a period in his career, one can merely surmise. The journal is by no means a "human document." It is mainly a jejune dull record of itineraries with many gaps, all capable of a similar explanation to the above. It is difficult to see why he kept it—probably merely as a useful private reference book. The enthusiasm of the diarist for the compilation of a personal record is conspicuously absent. Nevertheless the extract reproduced here is both interesting and valuable; much more so, in fact, than any other portion of the journal. It supplements the corresponding chapters of Yule's "Mission to Ava" with much additional information of a sort impossible of presentation in that invaluable work. And, so far as it goes, it throws new light upon Phayre's attitude in the negotiations with the Court of Ava. For a complete picture of those negotiations, carried on as they were by the most brilliant mission ever sent by John Company to the Golden Feet, and for a full understanding of the issues involved, this brief private record should be read in conjunction with the relevant parts of the Dalhousie-Phayre Correspondence. For this reason foot notes have been cut down to a bare minimum, since in the larger work will be found explanations of anything of importance mentioned in the journal.

D. G. E. H.

PHAYRE'S PRIVATE JOURNAL OF HIS MISSION TO AVA IN 1855.

Aug. 1st. 1855. Last evening dined at Mrs. Williams'—a pleasant party. Came about 3 a.m. on board the Flat *Sutlej* with Brigadier Russell and Mackenzie.¹ The *Lord W. Bentinck* with *Sutlej* in tow and the *Nerbudda* with *Panlang*. The Lt. Co. of 84th. under Willis all left this morning at daybreak.

4th. I have not been regular in my journal. Last evening we anchored below Yayghen which we reached pretty early this morning. Dropped the letters and went on to Myanoungh where we went ashore. Nuthall came on with us.

5th. Sunday. Reached Prome about 2 p.m.

6th and 7th. Remained at Prome.

8th. Came to Thayet Myo. Stopped at Kama to take sketches & reached Thayet at 5 p.m.

9th. Stopt (*sic*) at Thayet. Dined in evening at Pegu Library rooms.

10th. Came up to Meeaday.² Went over the fort in the evening, and to look at Forlong's bund here which is well raised above the inundation. There is said to be a scarcity of rain this year. I have absurd reports of what designs are entertained against the mission.

11th. Could not leave before 8 a.m. as we had to wait for two tents. The stream being strong we did not get on more than about 2 miles an hour. Beyond our frontier bold hills come down to the bank. Passed at 3 p.m. Nyoungbentha & at 4 Tha-wat-tee—by 5 we were at Emma—and anchored just above it at Dzoung-gyan-toung. This is the commencement of the Maloon district. On the opposite side of the river is Tshen-boung wai, a large flourishing village, formerly the termination of the Meeday district.

12th, Sunday. Left at daybreak. Passed Longyee island and by 9-30 a.m. were at Qwaydau, a village not very extensive on the W. Bank. The country does not appear so well inhabited as nearer Meeaday. By 11 a.m.

1. The mission party consisted of the Envoy (Major Phayre), the Secretary (Captain Henry Yule), Dr. John Forsyth (Superintending Surgeon in Pegu), Major Grant Allan Q. M. G.'s Department and Special D. C. on the Frontier), Mr. Oldham (Supdt. of the Geological Survey of India), Captain Rennie, Lieut. Heathcote and Mr. Ogilvie (all of the Indian Navy), Captain Willis of H. M. 84th (commanding the escort), Captain Tripe (official photographer to the mission), Mr. Colesworthy Grant (official artist to the mission), Mr. R. S. Edwards (Rangoon Customs Officer, long resident at Ava with Major Burney, official interpreter to the mission), and the following officers of the escort, Lieuts. Mackenzie and Hardy, Ensign Woolhouse, and Dr. Cholmeley.

2. Here Phayre received a letter from the Kyaukmaw Mingyi, the principal Wungyi of the Hlutdaw, intimating that a special deputation had been appointed to escort the mission up the river.

reached Maloon a striking place with its group of Pagodas on a hill. Hearing that the Governor was at Menhla higher up, went on there. There are not many houses apparently at Maloon—probably some 150. Went to Menhla and on nearing it at 1 p.m. saw several gilt war boats coming down, and soon there came on board my old friend the Woon-douk¹—a Thaye daugyee—and finally the Mywoon of Maloon, Mr. Makertish. They announced that they had been sent down by His Majesty to escort us to the capital, and begged that I would inform them of everything I wanted. After a while we all went ashore to Mr. M's² and sitting there awhile got up and bade adieu. In the evening at 5 p.m. went ashore to Mr. Makertish's² and with him walked through the town. It has entirely been built within the last few months. The streets have been regularly laid out and a road left open along the river bank, which in other Burmese towns is always occupied by houses to the very edge. Mr. M. has collected people from Meeaday, Thayet, and even Pyu and [?Pegu] where he formerly was Governor, and has, he says, about 1000 houses. The Custom House is here. They collect on the down produce but not on the up. There were a number of boats here—one or two large ones³ with the King's flag had, we were told, paddy on board. The town is very neat and clean. There is a scarcity of rain here as down below, but a little fell today.

13th. Monday. Early this morning the Woondouk came on board and said he wished them all to go on ahead to show the steamer the way. I agreed to this arrangement. We left at $\frac{1}{4}$ to 7 a.m. on to Myeen gwon⁴ on the East bank where the Myothoogyee came on board to show the channels and the Woondouk had his boat taken in tow by us. The latter told me they objected to some of the white umbrellas which have been displayed, as that is the royal colour. I have directed them to be discontinued. At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 3 p.m. reached Magway. Went ashore with the Woondouk to a shed under which were the Myothoogyee of the place & all the Thoogyees and Rawā oke of the district—while a band was performing soft music. This is a pretty undulating country with magnificent Tamarind trees. Went to see a Pagoda just repaired by the Myoothoogyee called Mya-thalon Phra—meaning "Emerald couch". It is situated on

1. Yule : Mission to Ava pp, 3-4. "The officials composing it had all been Members of the Mission to Calcutta in the preceding winter. They were, the Woondouk, Moung Mhon ; the Governor of Tseen-goo, a quaint little elderly man; and Makertich, Governor of the Maloon district, with jurisdiction extending to the frontier, an Armenian by descent, but adopting the dress of the Burmans, from whom he is distinguished by his features, but not by complexion except by his darker tint. There were besides two scribes or inferior officers."

2. For a description of his house vide *op. cit.* sup. p. 5.

3. "There were some fine specimens of the larger craft of the Irawadi. Two of these could scarcely have been less than 120 or 130 tons in burden." *Ibid*, p. 6. There follows on pp. 6 and 8 a detailed description of Irawadi boats with illustrations.

4. Men-goon (Yule).

a high pinnacle commanding a fine view of the river and Menboo on the opposite shore. The Arakan hills also were visible in the distance. In the evening walked down into the town. It is an extensive place—3000 houses I was informed—and all the Thoogyees and Ywa okes were in here with armed men and ponies in great numbers. I was surprised to see no women about and believe an order had been issued that none were to appear. The cause of this I know not. In the evening we went with the Woondouk to a Pwai given by the Myothoogy, first a Doll pwe [*sic*] and afterwards a regular play. They were not very well got up & were somewhat stupid. There were no women here either. There has been very little rain here, but it continued cloudy, and from the high south wind, which sends the boats all up stream at a spanking rate, is very cool and pleasant. At the play in the evening one love scene was a little broader than is usual in Burmah & I attribute it to there being no women present. Came home by 11 p.m.

14th. Tuesday. Left about 6 a.m. The Woondouk came off to me before starting. The appearance of the country has much changed. We went chiefly along the left or East bank. The banks are high, exposing bare cliffs of sand & gravel pierced with numerous holes inhabited by swallows and pigeons. There is a great scarcity of foliage compared with what exists lower down. At $\frac{1}{4}$ before 11 a.m. Wetmatsut & reached Yen-an Khyoung about 1 p.m. At 3 p.m. Oldham, Forsyth & I went out in a warboat to go down the river side. We landed about half a mile below the village, examined the high cliffs and ravines running up from them. The whole appears to have been an elevated plateau now deeply intersected by ravines caused by the rains. It is a mass of soft sand mixed with quartz pebbles. From some of the higher cliffs a fine view of the river was obtained & of the opposite hills of Arakan. Oldham found a fossil bone & I came on a fine piece of a fossil tree not more than four feet long but at least three feet in diameter. Oldham pronounced it a palm. It was too heavy to bring away. Saw a scanty crop of nham here. The whole surrounding country appears covered with scanty herbage amidst sandy soil here and there mixed with quartz pebbles. Yen-an Khyoung is not a large village—it possesses [?] houses and some handsome temples and Kyoungs.

15th. Wednesday. Went ashore early to go out to the wells.¹ The road led out in an easterly direction from the village over a rough road which is nevertheless passable for carts. The Woondouk and his suite, numbering some 8 or 10 people, were on ponies as were most of us. We gradually ascended to some low rounded hills on which the wells were sunk. They were generally about $4\frac{1}{2}$ to 5 feet square, lined with wood and of depths varying from 150 to 270 feet or even more. The expense of sinking a well is very great, not less than 150 viss of silver.

1. For a detailed description of the oil-wells and the Burmese system of extracting oil *vide* Yule *op. cit. sup.* pp. 19-23.

The expense is partly in consequence of the risk, as the choke damp frequently makes the men senseless & death has even ensued. The quantity of oil taken from a well is various. One we visited produced 400 viss daily. Some wells are 40 or 50 years old. Attempting to sink near another well is sometimes unsuccessful & the expense is in vain. The wells are private property, & some families have also the right of conveying away the produce, receiving $\frac{1}{3}$ of it. In the evening went to a play with the Woondouk.

16th. Started early about 6 a.m. for Men len toung distant about 4 miles S. W. We were engaged until about 9 a.m. in searching the ravines for fossils. We collected several but could not find the shells mentioned by Crawford.¹ Returned home by 10 a.m. Oldham went off towards the river side and got back by noon. During the day a fine piece of an elephant's jaw was brought in by some Burmese who had been sent to search by the Woondouk. They promise to go on searching while we are away. The weather has been very cool. The river has been rising but there is no rain here. The country immediately around us is devoid of herbage.

17th. Left Ye-nan-gyoung about $\frac{1}{2}$ past 6 a. m. At 1 p. m. passed Salay myo which did not appear very extensive. Before coming to this we stopped at Htantabeng where there were some old Pagodas in ruins which Yule landed to sketch. Soon after this the boiler of the Bentinck got a leak in it and we made very little way only reaching Senbyoo guen by the evening. The Woondouk reached a Tay which had been erected on the point of an island which here has formed in the river. We were obliged to anchor a mile and a half below it, not being able to get up even with the help of the *Nerbudda*. About 9 p. m. the Woondouk came on board to see about his boat and we had a long talk until about $\frac{1}{2}$ past 10 p. m. The Woondouk is very curious about all matters connected with European intelligence and science—though his questions in Natural History & Geography are sometimes somewhat startling.

18th. Not being able to go ahead went ashore after breakfast. There was a Tay on a point of land where were dancees &ca. as usual. Tshengphyoo guen village is on the mainland a mile distant. The river is rather low for the time of year & so the steamer cannot get nearer. Off at 3 p. m. Passed Pakhanng, a place of some 200 houses. It was dark when we reached Salay myo. After dinner Mr. Makertish came on board & in the name of the Myowoon of the place invited us to a Pwai. We all went ashore and found the Myowun under a shed close to the water's side with the music and players all around him. The Plays were as usual Princes and Princesses in love, wandering in forests with their

¹ i.e. John Crawford in his "*Journal of an Embassy to the Court of Ava in the year 1827*" (London, 1829)

attendants and meeting ogres & other monsters. This play was somewhat coarse like the Master, who was seated in a shabby putsho without any jacket on & a dirty handkerchief swathed round his head. He was a vulgar fellow. ¹ We left before long. Passed today a place called Shen Boun Tsa Kyo (?).

Memo. At Salay Myo on the 19th. visited a building Zayat ?) having representations of the death of Gaudama, and his body surrounded by his disciples and Ananda.

19th. Sunday. Up and out a little after 6 a. m. A party of us went and examined the Pagodas which are very numerous here—some old and some quite modern. The old ones are invariably *Koos* with images inside and the peculiar spire very like the Hindoo Siwalas. I have a few inscriptions of these. There used to be some silk manufactories here, but there are (*sic*) none now apparently. Bought some boxes, however. Left at 9 a. m. and about 1 p. m. reached Tseng-goon oon. There is a Myothoogyee here. In the evening walked out. There is a fine Pagoda here, built by one of the Princesses, Tharawaddy's sister I believe—a Kyoung is attached. The Phra is very handsome. The town is more extensive than I imagined, stretching along the river some distance, but not well visible from the river bank. There are about 1000 houses for the most part standing in enclosures of thorns. How the people live is a puzzle, for this year there has been no rain, or not enough for cultivation, & the ground is all sandy, so that at no time can there be much produce. Oldham and others went down the river & came upon some fossil marine shells. Tshengoo oon is, I believe, under Pagan Myo.

20th. Monday. It was arranged this morning that we should have another look at this place. I went with Yule and Rennie to the top of a hill whence we had an extensive view. A little way down the river was the "Tsheitphyoo" gilded pagoda at the opposite side of the river. The level country around was laid out as if in fields, but no appearance of cultivation, and I fear nothing can be sown. We got off by 9 a. m. and went on to Puggan (*sic*). Some 5 or 6 miles below it we were met by the Myo woon with some 15 to 20 boats. He came on board & we soon became on good terms. Ashore some 200 horsemen were drawn up. We continued on to Pagan which we reached about 1-30 p.m. having come about 16 miles ² As usual a Pwai was ready and I went

¹ Yule, *op. cit. sup.* p. 26 says: "Of the play the less said the better; it was the first indecent exhibition that had been thrust on us. The Governor had no upper clothing on, and was boorish in looks and manners.....19 August,—Probably some one of the deputation had admonished the Governor, for he came to the Envoy in the morning well dressed and improved in behaviour, bringing his wife, a pleasing well-mannered woman, with her children."

² *Vide* Yule pp. 28—54 for a much-illustrated account of Pagan and its temples,

ashore for a few minutes to see it. The Governor here has the appointment of Myeet-tsing-woon¹ & is said to be a favourite of the King's. Went ashore at 5 p.m. and visited the Gau-dau Palen. Which is not far from the river. I was much surprised at the extent of the Pagoda, its height, and more than all its plan, so different from anything I had elsewhere seen in Burmah. Several standing images of Gaudama are on the ground floor, and there are steps and galleries by which one can ascend nearly to the top of the building. From thence there is a fine view of all Pagan.

21st. Tuesday. This morning early started with Allan & Rennie for Shwe gee goon Phra. This is now the Pagoda which most attracts worshippers. It is covered with gold leaf and has some fine carved Tatshoungs round it. In one corner are numerous images of Nats which appear to attract some attention in the way of offerings. I saw a few stone inscriptions also, but I hear all the valuable ones have been removed to Ava because the Pagoda slaves used to chissel [*sic*] out a part of the writing. There is here a golden fish exhibited called Shwe nga gyeen. Home by 9 a.m. In the day the Myo woon came to pay me a visit. In the evening went to see the Baudi or Koon doun Phra, built by Na daung Mya Men in the year 500 & odd. There are a number of stone inscriptions collected here from other temples. I counted 45 in all & hope to get some well copied.

22nd. Went this morning with the Woondouk to the Baudi Phra again and afterwards to the Ananda. The latter is a wonderful building. It is full of galleries, dark passages and images of Boodha. Many of these latter are, as remarked by the Woondouk, clearly of the type of those of India, which he had seen with me at the Asiatic Society room.² He also remarked that the arches were such as could not be made now. I consider that foreign architects and masons have evidently been employed on these works. Ananda is a large mass of building. At the Baudi I had several inscriptions copied. At 11 a.m. went with the Woondouk & the gentlemen of the mission to call on the Governor. He received us civilly at the gate of his compound and led us to the hall where he receives visitors. He was very civil, remarking that the two nations should now ever continue friends &ca. His wife and children, he said, were beneath the golden feet. He returned with us to the shed near the water's edge where boxing and wrestling went on as before. At 5 went ashore to the Baudi Phra, but from the rain was detained a long time before I could commence work. I was not very successful in taking copies of the inscriptions. Came home by $\frac{1}{4}$ to 7. In the evening went to the play again. Only the Woondouk and Mr. Makertish there.

1. Governor of the lower reaches of the river, *i.e.*, the part south of the capital.

2. *i.e.* in Calcutta, whether he had gone on an embassy from Mindon Min to the Governor General in the preceding year.

23rd. Out early. I had a very interesting morning at the Ananda Pagoda which I thoroughly examined. I went also to the adjoining Kyong & to the reclining image called "Shwe tha Young", built as an inscription stated by Sheng Thoo-dhamma Leng-ga-ya. Two young Probationers were very civil to me. The brick building and image were built in 2339, or 61 years ago. My people sadly failed at the taking stamp copies of the inscriptions. I was very much struck with the Ananda temple to-day. I did not return until 10 a.m. to-day, Employed writing accounts of the temple and looking to the copies of the inscriptions. At 5 p.m. went ashore again to the Baudée Pagoda and afterwards to the Thap-pyeenyu. It rained very heavily.

24th. Friday. Out early this morning. Oldham kindly offered to take off some of the inscriptions for me. I went off to the Dhanna Yan Kyee Pagoda. It has been commenced well, but not continued well, and has suffered in consequence. It occupied me a good hour and a half going over it. Coming home I met with the remains of a fine obelisk covered with characters. These I have no doubt are important. There are also inscriptions in the Dhamma Yan Kyee Temple. I came home by 9 o'clock. Left by 9-30 a.m. The Woondouk & Myeet-tseen Woon having gone on ahead. The river here turns East and after steaming two hours we had a fine sight of Poop-pa toun S. of us. In the evening about 5 p.m. we reached Koon-yawa on the West bank of the river, where the day's halt was to be. The population along the river bank had been very thick for the last 4 or 5 miles. On going ashore found a Tay erected. The river had been rising rapidly and they have had to remove the Tay several times. Soon after the Governor of Pakhan gyee came up, in whose district this is. He was introduced by the Woondouk and we proposed a walk through the village. The Governor lives at Pakhan some 10 miles off and had come in with about 150 horsemen besides musketeers. He said he comes in occasionally on business. The place appears populous, and as we walked along the people sat down respectfully before their doors. The country round here is very fertile. The river is now rising, and in a little more the water will be into the paddy fields, where it will be kept in by the ridges, and the young shoots will be planted out. Some of it will be ripe in December, and some in February or March. Sesamum, Indian corn, and other products are grown here, and the whole district for miles round is described as very fertile. The country looks flat all round and with the high water, the green foliage and number of palm trees presents a great contrast to the parched up country extending from Yenangyoung to Pagan. After a short walk returned to the Tay and then went on board the steamer. The steamer could not go in near the low bank, and we made this a reason for not going ashore to the Pwai at night. This place is a little above Pakhok-ko.

25th. Saturday. Early this morning the Woondouk & Myeet tsin woon came on board to say good-bye. The latter said he wished me to

write to him. He has jurisdiction all along the course of the river. As we advance here the river is very broad—some 3 or 4 miles probably, and full to the brim just now. At 12 N. reached Myeen-gyan, a village in the Tarook mau district, where the halting place was prepared for us. We were up before the Woondouk and his people. A little below this the Myowoon of Pakok Myo came down with a number of boats to meet the mission. Tarokmyo is about 2 tains from this I hear. There are 2 hills East of this place called Kyouk Yeen and Na-byeen. Poop-pa is visible some 25 miles S. E. towering high above the country.

There is a tale of the two former mountains having been made from the latter by one Nga Kywe attempting to bridge the Irrawady. In the evening went ashore. The town here is extensive, having certainly not less than 2000 houses and 10,000 inhabitants. Cotton is exported from this. It is brought from Pooppa toung, raised there by the irrigation from the springs of the mountain. There are a number of Kyoungs here. The people were civil and very anxious to see the steamer. The ground here is fertile. Gram is grown. The Sesamum is in blossom. In the evening after dinner the Woondouk came over to ask us to go to the play. Met the Myowoon of Tarokh Myo there, who, the Woondouk told me, was "an upright and straightforward" man. The play was a doll show and capitally done, the story being the well known one of Theiddat Mentha. Though so solemn a tale, a great deal of fun was made by the remarks of a caustic courtier on the young women brought in to try and persuade the Prince not to abandon his home to become an ascetic.

26th. Sunday. Left at 8 a. m. to let the Woondouk go ahead. At 11-30 a. m. were passing the Khyen Dwen, but from being close to the E. bank and the whole country flooded by the rise of the river, we could not see it distinctly. On the E. bank the river had overflowed (*sic*) the banks, and all the fields and trees were in the water. The former will be prepared for the seed by this means. There is a range of hills about 10 miles on the E. bank—not rising above 4 or 500 feet, and gradually sinking Northwards into the level of the country. By 4 p. m. reached Sa-myeet Khon, where we were to remain, 16 m. I found the Woondouk sitting under a large tree on a large bedstead with some of his people. I went and sat by him for some time. There was plenty of Sesamum in flower all round, and wheat and gram are grown here. In the evening took a walk, but could not go far as there was an unbridged stream to pass in the town.

27th. Monday. We did not leave Samyeet Khon until 8 a. m. The Woondouk went off earlier. Allen and Oldham went ashore to enquire into the manufacture of saltpetre here. By 10 a. m. we were passing country inundated as far as the eye could reach. Very fine tobacco, I am told, is grown in the islands of the Irrawaddy about here. The whole appearance of the country beyond the inundation was green and fertile—very different from the parched lands below; and when within 5 or 6

miles of Kyouk ta lon the sloping hills covered with verdure looked very well. Kyouktalon is the end of a low range of hills; we reached it at 5 p m., and went on to a place a little beyond it. Walked out in the evening, but saw nothing remarkable. Kyouktalon contains probably 200 houses all huddled together. On the opposite side Rama theet is much more populous.

28th. Tuesday Waited here today expecting to hear from Amara-poorā of people coming down to meet us, and of Mr. Spears' arrival. Had a visit from the Tsee Koo woon (Moung Khyen formerly of Kyanghen) and from the Woon of Pukhan, a district which reaches up to the Yo territory. In the evening went ashore to see the Pagodas &cā. Saw a Phoongyee dwelling in a small cave. He was afflicted with disease and came there partly for convenience and partly from religious motives. I offered him medical assistance if he would come to Amarapoorā, but he said it would be very inconvenient for him to go. He was grateful for the sympathy I expressed for his suffering.

29th.¹ Wednesday. Left this morning at 8 a.m., but much against the will of the Woondouk who wanted us to remain until the Dalla woon arrived. We got under way and by 9 a.m. however their boats were seen coming down. In half an hour the old man came on board and was very friendly. He said he had never ceased to offer up prayers for the Governor-General since he left Bengal; that he might be saved from all evil and blessed with all good. I replied that the Governor-General, I was sure, would be gratified to hear of his good wishes. It seems they did not intend us to reach Sagaing until tomorrow. Mr. Spears and Mr. Camaretta came soon after. Both the latter informed me that the King has been making most anxious arrangements for the mission. A large body of troops has been collected for show. The arrangements for the escort's provisions have been made by disbursements from the King's treasury—hitherto all envoys, English or Chinese, were fed by contributions raised from the lepers and dead body burners! I had heard of this before, and considered the voluntary abandonment of such an uncivilized method of shewing contempt for foreigners a very good sign—for to overcome a national custom in Burmah is very difficult. We proceeded up to Sagaing, where we arrived at a little after noon. In the afternoon went on shore with Willis and Forsyth and strolled through the town. There is an old wall in ruins surrounding the place. The houses are generally surrounded by gardens. There is one fine Pagoda gilded throughout and said to be built of stone. There is a large inscription near it which I did not see.

¹ Phayre's Journal of the Mission, submitted to the Government of India after his return, begins at this point (*Vide* India Secret Proceedings Vol 196, document No. 16 of Consultation dated 25 January 1856; it occupies 102 folio pages.) Yule's account cf. Yule, *op. cit.* pp. 59—129 and 192—203) is mainly based upon it.

30th. Early this morning went with Forsyth, Oldham, Allan & ca. to the hills lying west of Sagaing. We had a walk of about three miles to get to the part of the range where is a long crescent like building called the "Oo-mheng thon say" or "Thirty caves". It is simply a building with thirty entrances. In the interior is an arched room in a crescent form with images of Budha [*sic*] ranged the whole length. It appeared quite modern. There is a fine view from this point of Sagaing & Ava, but another point of the range shut out Amarapoora. To the South was a sandy track the people called the Magyee gyoung, which is the road to Motsho bo. To the N. W. they pointed out in hills some 20 miles distant the place where marble is quarried and brought to make into images partly to Sagaing (at Kyouk Tsheit) and partly to Mahamoonnee Phra at Amarapoora. Down the river the position of Kyouk Tsheit was pointed out and beyond it the remarkable Pagoda called the Koung mhoo dau, built by [] about the year [].¹ It is in the old form, somewhat resembling a beehive, but more elongated and with a conical ornament on the summit. After viewing this scene we continued our route along the top and sides of the ridge towards the N.E. end of it. From a Pagoda a little above the caves and called the [] saw a Kyoung called the Padouk kyoung in a square hollow below, and when moving along the hill saw numerous monasteries elegantly ornamented with carved wood, scattered in the dells beneath, amidst beautiful foliage, in sheltered nooks, which in a cold climate would have been delightful, but which here unfortunately suggested the heat and want of air which must be endured by the inmates. As picturesque objects, however, they are perfect, and the situation of them recalls the illustrations of Lamas houses in Thibet, as shown in Huc's travels. From the highest point of the ridge, which may be 300 feet above the river, we had a fine view both of Amarapoora and old Ava. The river being all over the country, it was difficult in many parts to distinguish its actual channel. At the pagoda on the highest point of the ridge there is a long inscription which I had not time to copy. From this we came down the hill and proceeded homewards, where we arrived at 9-15 a. m., the sun somewhat hot. Soon after Mr. Spears, who had been up to Amarapoora last night, returned here. We found our mail from Rangoon bringing the English Mail of June 26th. I have omitted to mention that Mr. Camaretta came yesterday and Father Abbona also.² The former is much in the confidence of the King. The latter I could not have much conversation with. The siege of Sabastopol I find is regarded with considerable interest here and its progress watched closely. The Armenians are wholly on the side of Russia, and, I am informed, represent to the King and Court every report of the siege as unfavourably as possible for the French and British. The Mahomedans, whether Indian or

¹ Left blank in the Manuscript. The date of the pagoda is usually given as 1636.

² Yule *op. cit.* p. 62. A priest of the Society of Oblats, in charge of the Christian Congregation at Amarapoora since 1846.

Persian, I am informed, take the same side. The Armenians no doubt wish for the success of the Russians as being a national advantage for themselves. The Mahomedans, I am informed, hold out hopes that if the Russians are successful against the French and English, they will conquer India and restore Pegu to the King. It is to be noted that Colonel Burney considered the Mahomedans in Amarapoora as being our bitter enemies. This is recorded in his journal. About $\frac{1}{2}$ past 12 Mr. Sarkies¹ came in to say the Kyouk Mau Mengyee² was on his way to see me. I went on the deck of the flat and received him. He greeted me in vaery friendly manner, reminding me of our former meeting at Prome. He came attended by a Woondouk and a Tsare dau gyee of the Hlwot dau. We sat and conversed for some time on the deck of the flat, he expressing his hope that everything had been done to make us comfortable on the way up, and particularly at his own district, Magway. He stated that the King's orders were that everything should be done to make us comfortable and happy in conformity with the great friendship existing between the two countries. The Woongyee then went on board the steamer, where we got into a discussion on the solar system, and said he had never heard any European say that the sun was the centre of the system and that the earth moved round it. I referred him to Mr. Spears, who was sent for, and on his coming the Woongyee requested me not to address him in English but to ask him in Burmese to expound our ideas of the solar system. I did, and on Mr. S. giving the same account that I had done previously, he said laughing to Mr. S. "There have you been among us all these years and as soon as an Envoy comes you turn round against us." He then said he should ask the Phoongyee about it (meaning Father Abbona) for he still appeared to believe this was not the general system prevalent among Europeans.³ The Woongyee did not go away till past 3 p. m. I did not go out in the evening, being fatigued and having to open and read some of the numerous official letters I have received.

31st. Friday. Did not go out. Read the newspaper early. On going on deck at 9 a. m. found Mr. Spears. He mentioned that the Queen will be present at the audience, which will be very grand. The trade to China from Ava is larger than I supposed. Mr. Spears says the value of the cotton exported is not less than 25 laks [*sic*] of ticals. The price is about 20 Ticals per 100 viss of cleaned cotton. The Chinese do not take British piece goods, and it appears to be *probable* that they are prohibited. Unwrought copper even cannot be exported, and all the copper brought to Amarapoora consists of copper pots broken

1 "A son of the Mr. Sarkies well known in the First Burmese War" (Phayre: *Journal in India Secret Proceedings* Vol. 196.)

2 Yule calls him the Magwe Mengyi (p. 66.)

"He is considered the highest Minister of State, mainly from his character and the estimation in which he is held by the King. Strictly speaking no single member of the Hlwot-dau or Royal Council has precedence over another." (*Ibid.*)

3 For a slightly fuller version of this incident *vide* Yule *op. cit.* pp. 67-8.

up. Their system therefore is one of complete protection. About $\frac{1}{2}$ past 2 p.m. Mr. Camaretta arrived with about 30 silver dishes of sweetmeats and other choice eatables sent down by the King and Queen with many flattering speeches. These were made by the Pagan Princess the widow of the late Prince of Pagan and half sister to the King. Mr. C. told me that the King had said he did not desire a treaty, as he did not see the use of one. He was anxious to preserve friendship, and would treat our people who came to trade with kindness and hospitality, but he did not see the use of a treaty. I replied that the use was to show to the subjects of both states and to the surrounding nations that we really were friends, which without a treaty they could not be convinced of. I also mentioned that the munitions of war would be admitted. I did not press the subject as the King has expressed a wish to see me at a private audience after my public reception. Mr. C. said the K. requested that anything I had to propose, I would do so privately to him through Mr. C. who is undoubtedly in the King's confidence. He prefers this to my mentioning anything even through the Woongyee. The Santal insurrection,¹ I hear, attracts a good deal of attention.

Saturday, Sept. 1st. The morning was rainy. Mr. Makertish and the myowoon of Amarapoor, who is a brother-in-law of the King's, came early on board to announce that the Woongyees would be ready to receive me at the Envoy's House by about 7 a.m. As the Woondouk had told me last night all would not be ready until that hour I had ordered steam then. It was not until about $\frac{1}{2}$ past 7 that the Woondouk was ready with all his gold war boats about ten in number to take the lead of us. We crossed the Irrawaddy river to the Ava side and entered the Myit ngay mouth. From thence we proceeded up the stream which wound through a flat country now flooded—and the water occasionally expanding out to broad lakes. A great deal of this was paddy land which will be sown as soon as the waters subside. This crop is called *kouk* and will be reaped in January. We passed the King's state barge and the water palace—also some extensive villages of Munnipoorees descendants of those who were brought away from their country many years ago. These were all seated on the bank and one old lady was on a high stool in the water. As the way we were brought was roundabout, and not as we afterwards discovered the nearest channel the steamer might have come, we did not reach our landing place until near 1 p.m. It was at the end of a long wooden bridge probably more than half a mile in length which crossed an extensive marsh land now under water. On approaching the landing place dense crowds of people were visible many standing deep in the water. We moored the steamer to the

1. A hill-tribe inhabiting the foot of the Rajmahal Hills in Bengal, hitherto considered peaceful, quiet and timid, though barbarous. They rose suddenly, plundered and murdered indiscriminately, but were speedily crushed.

bridge and immediately the Woondouk, the Myo Woon of Amarapoora, the Prince's Woon and other officials came on board to escort us ashore. We accordingly left the steamer, I with the Woondouk and each member of the mission with a Burmese official, and proceeded along the bridge to the shore. On the bank was a building full of people and one or two dancing girls displaying their graces to the sound of soft music. Passing by them we came on to the road. Here were elephants and ponies, but believing the distance to be much shorter than it proved, I preferred walking. The road was lined with Burmese soldiers dressed in red coats with green sleeves and a portion of these with red lacquered caps, muskets and ammunition in tin tubes for single cartridges round their waists, and one small tin cartridge box, kept up with us. Other corps called *Ko yan* or guards were dressed in white jackets. There were also a number of horsemen, all Munnipoorees I believe, mounted on wretched ponies and looking very miserable. A large proportion of the men were very old and the majority of the infantry carried their muskets as if they had never handled them before. They formed the lane standing, contrary to the usual Burmese custom on such occasions, when their men used to squat down I believe, though I conclude no envoy was ever before received with such a military display. The whole arrangements however were evidently made to imitate the reception given to the Burmese Envoy to Calcutta. After going about three quarters of a mile we reached the Than-tai or Envoy's Lodge.¹ We entered the enclosure by a large gateway at the Eastern end and passed to the front of the building facing the North where was a large circular shed called a Mandat and fitted up as a theatre. At the foot of the stairs there received me the Magway Mengyee, the fourth Woongyee called Pabai Woon MOUNG MHO, one of the Atwen Woons called Bhamo Myo tsa. The Pabai Woon appears older than the Magway Mengyee and although having the reputation of being inimical to the English was friendly in his demeanour. The Atwen Woon was much younger than his colleagues fair and slightly marked with the small-pox. The Woongyee frequently repeated to me that the King was most anxious for us to be comfortable and hoped that we had had everything well arranged on the way up. I assured him that everything had been managed to our entire satisfaction and that I felt under great obligation to the Woondouk for all he had done. The Woondouk afterwards thanked me for this and said it would be very serviceable to him that I had thus expressed myself. The Woondouk took me round to see the rooms for our accommodation and then we looked a few minutes at the dancers nine or ten of whom were figuring away at their best pace. I then returned to the Woongyees who were seated in the large front room of the Lodge and expressed myself under great obligation for the trouble taken to prepare everything comfortably. The Woongyee said that H. M. really regarded me as if I were

¹ Vide Yule *op. cit.*, pp. 72-3 for a description of this building. He gives also a sketch of it,

one of his own Woongyees and was most anxious to make everything agreeable! The Burmese, I fear, do not understand the obligation to be particularly careful for the honor [*sic*] and comfort of a stranger, guest and foreigner, so that the certainly evident desire to receive us with distinction was attributed to H. M. having a regard for me equal to what he would have for a distinguished Woongyee of his own. The Woongyees now took their leave. We made arrangements for returning to the steamer as we had not dined and it was quite impossible to get all our luggage up this evening. We therefore returned on board and I came ashore again about $\frac{1}{2}$ past 5 p.m. some remaining to sleep on board. At night a puppet show was set agoing and as the music was going the greater part of the night close to me I did not sleep over soundly.

Sept. 2nd. Sunday. We dispensed with the dancers today and I hoped to have had plenty of time to write letters. But I was sadly interrupted by numerous Burmese visitors, so that I did not write more than half the number of letters I intended to have done. One visitor however, namely the Woondouk and his son, the latter in his student's dress and shaven head, I was glad to see. Then came also one of the Palace pages, a boy about 7 or 8 years old, to have his likeness taken; but being Sunday I requested he might be brought another day. I did not get out in the evening. We got most of the baggage ashore this day. Mr. Spears and Camaretta came, the latter with expensive trays of sweetmeats from the palace.

3rd. Monday. I got up pretty early. The first thing was to despatch the mail boat which from a Tsa khuen not having arrived last night from the Hlwot dau could not be done. The boatmen then left. Father Abbona came in. I had a long conversation with him. He considers that the influence of the Prince is very much diminished within the last 12 months and that the King is much strengthened. He still considers that the King is determined to remain friends with the English. He may possibly, the Revd. Father thinks, sign a treaty, but there are two things he dreads and dislikes, the one is signing away territory, which the K. says would cause him to be entered in the Radja Weng or Royal Chronicles with an opprobrium on his name, and the other having a Resident at his Court. The Revd. Father stated that when a treaty with the Sardinian Govt. was proposed, the King refused to receive a consul from that nation, as he said if he did so he must be prepared for a similar application from the British Govt. He considered that the King might consent to a treaty of friendship and commerce, but said he would expect our duties at Thayetmyo to be taken off. As Father Abbona has considerable influence with the King, I replied that we were not prepared to do that, but that it was not necessary for me to point out to him what a great mutual advantage it would be to have a regular treaty whereby confidence would be diffused throughout the whole of the people of both countries, and trade thereby be greatly increased. He acknowledged this, but again referred to high

duties and said if both nations abolished them the trade from China (Yunnan) would no doubt come to Rangoon. I considered this very improbable but not deeming it advisable to let it be thought a point for discussion, said our Govt. would not abolish the duties, though on the conclusion of a treaty they would permit the entry of warlike stores. The Father assured me they had sulphur from the Shan country and that now it is smuggled through in such quantities that sulphur is very little dearer here than in Bengal. I observed no doubt this was the case, still it was a great object for our Govt. to manifest such confidence in the King as to allow of the passage of warlike stores. The Father said the King had once observed if he received muskets from the English he never would be so base in the greatest extremity as to use them against the English. I replied I was convinced from His Majesty's known generosity of character he never would, while I also felt confident the occasion would never arise.

Regarding the state of parties here, Father Abbona said the Armenians were violently on the side of Russia. One had offered to go on a mission to Russia but the King replied: "No, I will never enter into correspondence with a power at war with the English." The Father was present when Mr. Sarkies Manook lately arrived from Bengal and Rangoon. This man is, I believe, the son of the Mr. Sarkies of the last war and is Interpreter to the Magway Mengyee. On appearing at the palace the King asked him the news; he replied "The English, your Majesty, are completely finished," referring to the siege of Sebastopol. Other Armenians also are continually reporting that thousands of English and French are being killed and that they cannot conquer the Russians. I asked him if he considered there was anyone who might be considered an emissary of Russia here. He replied with an air of truth: "No, certainly not," and I believe he is to be depended on on this subject, as his feelings are entirely on the side of the allies. He stated that some three or four months ago a man came here called Jose who was an Italian by birth apparently who showed him numerous testimonials and came to him as a good Catholic. The Father considered him suspicious from his testimonials and he afterwards heard he had gone among the Armenians and represented himself as a schismatic Armenian. Father A. considered him as a swindler trying to get money under false pretenses representing himself as having suffered from shipwreck &c. He is about to leave the capital for Rangoon. He speaks Italian, French, a little English and Armenian also. I asked Father A. regarding his school which he had formerly mentioned and he told me he purposed opening it in another month. He has been unable to procure a good schoolmaster as yet but hopes to do so. The King has subscribed 600 Tikals and the Residents here have given liberally. He touched upon the expected advent of Mr. Kinkaid¹ to open a school, which he evidently

1. American Baptist Missionary.

looks to as being a rival and heretic institution, which will produce evil results.

Father A. has not seen the King yet since our arrival but is going to the Palace this evening. On this account he could not accept an invitation to dinner which I gave him. Father A. says the King is averse to shed blood—so much so that he constantly says if the English were to go to war with him he would not resist. And when the accounts of Sebastopol are read to him and the numbers of slain, he wishes he could go himself to be a means of stopping the dreadful slaughter. I said nothing about D'Orgoni.¹

At breakfast heard from Oldham that a man from whom he had purchased some putshos was stopped when bringing them in by some of the Burmese soldiers outside. I informed the Tarathugyee of this and he immediately gave orders that no obstruction was to be offered.

Mr. Camaretta and Mr. Spears came to dinner. The former sat next me. Mr. Makertish also sat down but was obliged to leave, having been sent for by the King. Mr. C. spoke a great deal to me and, as well as I could judge, with sincerity and with more freedom of manner than he had yet done. The few glasses of champagne appeared to give him confidence. He described himself as being a great favorite with the King, as he undoubtedly is, and was so with the King's father Tharawaddee. He said he was conscious of being an object of jealousy to most of the Burmese officers and particularly so to the Armenians, especially Makertish and Sarkies Manook. The King, he assured me, was most anxious to be friendly. He attributed this desire entirely to H. M.'s amiable and kind disposition. Said that H. M. was glad I had come and hoped the Govt. would consent to my being deputed once a year to him. To this I replied that should H. M. express this wish, the Supreme Govt. might possibly accede to it. He spoke of D'Orgoni as being engaged in timber speculations. I cannot perceive that the Frenchman has any influence.

The Santal insurrection has been made a great deal of by the Armenians. The King asked Mr. Camaretta about it. By his own account he informed him it was a mere trifle; some thousands of a wild tribe plundering Bengalee villages, who could be put down with small effort. The news of the loss before Sebastopol at the Malikoff Tower, he said he informed His Majesty, was no doubt serious.

4th. Tuesday. Nearly the whole day Burmese visitors. The Woon-douk &ca. Messrs. Spears and Camaretta also came in. We looked over all the jewelry [*sic*] which the Burmese seemed to admire much.

1. A mysterious French adventurer at the Court of Ava; for his activities see the *Dalhousie-Phayre Correspondence, passim*, and Lee-Warner's *Life of the Marquis of Dalhousie*, II, pp. 30-33

Mr. Camaretta presented me with a pony. In the evening went to visit the Maha thek ya thee ha temple which is close to this. It is a poor imitation of the Ananda of Pagan and was built in Tharawaddee's time. The roof instead of being arched is supported by beams so that it is all destined to be a ruin before many years. Around the temple is a large covered way of pukha work being about 500 feet square. In this covered way are images of Rahandas and gilded litters or Han-tsengs placed to invite them away should they require to be removed. The Tarathoogyee and Tsayedaugyee accompanied me in my visit and I removed my shoes at the entrance.

5th. Wednesday.—One of the pages of the Palace, Pho den, had his likeness taken and went off with it to the Palace, as he said at the request of the King, and he was permitted to carry the picture away. Mr. Grant has finished it very carefully and it is hoped this will induce their Majesties to sit to him.

The Woondouk came in to go on with the list of presents, and Mr. Spears also. Heavy rain came on at 3 p.m. Mr. Spears told me he was kept at the palace last night until near 11 p.m. The King asked him what pay he got from us. He is in a particularly good humour and says he will receive us at any time convenient to ourselves. Oldham also may go to the coal mines; but it is evident he is jealous of the ruby mines when he has twice said that people who go now are sure to die of fever. The King appeared to be favourably inclined to a treaty but said he would decide when he saw me. He has been asking whether at the private interview I will address him in all respects as a superior according to Burmese phraseology. I at once said: "Most certainly, I shall use the terms in which the sovereign is addressed by the Woongyees;" and though I cannot turn the language in the idiomatic way they do, yet I promised that it should be respectful and appropriate. The Woondouk here nearly all day seeing the presents being opened and sadly interrupting me in many things I had to do. Very heavy rain all the afternoon; good for the country no doubt, but, as our lodge leaked, very uncomfortable for us. None of us went out in consequence. The Burmese were evidently much pleased with the presents. The W. whispered me that he hoped I would make presents to the Myouk Nan ma dau who he said is a great favourite of H. M.

6th. Thursday. Up early and rain still. The old Tsaye daugyee came into my room before 7 to have a chat as he frequently does. He has a cross looking face which twitches continually from some nervous affection. He appears well disposed and civil. Yesterday H. M. observed he said at the morning levy that I was a very wise person and directed the Woondouk to go to me every day. What caused the remark and the consequence I did not enquire! The old gentleman in fact being a bit of a bore and as, if I were to encourage him, he would be constantly dropping into my room, I did not seek to prolong conversation and took up a newspaper.

Mr. Spears and Camaretta dined in the evening. A boat arrived from Prome with letters of the 26th. Aug. At dinner Camaretta told me pretty much the same as before how anxious the King was to be friendly and how desirous he (C) was of keeping him to his good resolutions. He repeated also that the Burmese officers were all jealous of him.

7th. Friday.¹ Father Abbona came to breakfast. We had some conversation. There is evidently some point the King has to speak to me about in private. From what Father A. said I almost fear it may be about the restoration of some territory and that the King may be, or affects to be, so ignorant as to suppose I have authority to give up a portion of the British territory! From this I cannot but have doubts of the sincerity of the intention which is ascribed to the King of concluding a treaty that does not involve the acknowledgement of our boundary. He also wants, I gather, to have free passage up and down the Irrawaddy for his steamer, and probably to have no enquiry made as to cargo on the frontier. The K. asked Father A. how it was I was always writing as he was told? [*sic*] Mr. Grant took Father A's likeness. Out riding this morning saw a plough for the first time in Burmah.

8th. Saturday. Sent off a mail to Prome. The Woondouk came and we discussed with him the ceremonies or some portion of them for going to the Palace. Mr. Spears also came.

Sunday. 9th. Today the Woondouk came and entered into discussion about some part of the ceremony of the Procession to the Palace. He wished that the guard which accompanied me should go without their arms and denied that Major Burney's guard had their muskets. I produced Major B's journal which distinctly asserts the fact and Mr. Edwards, who was with the Major, states he recollects the guard had their muskets although those of them who went within the Palace enclosure left their muskets outside. The Woon said we were to be received with unusual honor having troops lining the road and that my escort was not required for purposes of show, while insisting on taking the arms looked as if we were distrustful! I replied certainly such was not my feeling. I insisted on the men having their arms as being positively indispensable, and because Colonel Burney's guard had had them. In fact I would sooner go without a guard than have one without arms, though I did not say this. The Woondouk remained until late in the afternoon talking on this subject. Mr. Spears and Camaretta then came in to arrange by desire of the King a part of the ceremonial. I had already given Mr. S. a memorandum stating that I would lower my umbrellas when the Woongyees laid theirs aside, that is, at the outer gate of the Palace, but the canopy and umbrellas, which will be carried over the G. G's letter, I expected would be borne as far as the Royal

1. Compare this entry with Yule *op. cit.* p. 78 s.v. September 7th.

Family carried their umbrellas. This the King readily consented to, saying it was a letter from one Meng to another and such was proper. Then came a question for discussion. The Yoomdau or King's royal court is outside the gate of the Palace yard. It was proposed that we should go there early on the reception day and remain while the various processions passed by. The King offered to send the Magway Woongyee to receive me and remain with me and escort me to the Hall of audience, but stipulated that I should remove my shoes on ascending the Yoomdau. This was a point for consideration. Col. Burney on one occasion had gone into the Yoomdau, where the Woongyees were assembled, with his shoes on, and they afterwards complained of this as offensive. When he went to the Palace to present the Govr. General's letter and have an audience from the King he would not enter the Yoomdau (as he would have had to take his shoes off, but preferred *(the Journal breaks off here, and there is a blank space sufficient for about two lines of writing.)* I had then the choice either of remaining in my Tonjon in the road, while all the processions passed by, or seeing it from a shed as Col. Burney had done. As however the King offered to send the chief Woongyee to receive me at the Yoomdau and from there to conduct me to the Audience Hall, I deemed it to be proper to comply with the Burmese custom of removing the shoes while actually on that building. We thus will view the whole ceremony of the passing of the Burmese procession from the more important building and with the principal Woongyee to receive and conduct us. I consider therefore that in deviating from the course followed by Col. Burney I have not lowered my dignity as the representative of the G. G., but by viewing the pageant from the Yoomdau attended by the Chief Woongyee have exhibited to the people of the country the Mission in a more honourable position than if it were in a shed erected for the purpose, while in complying with the custom of the country in removing my shoes at the Yoomdau I am doing nothing derogatory to my personal or official character.

10th. Monday. Mr. Spears came in the afternoon and informed me that the King now wishes to withdraw the consent he gave to the umbrellas and canopy over the G. G.'s letter being carried up to the steps of the Palace. The Woondouk came on the same subject in the evening, and asked me how I wished conveying the G. G.'s letter. I said under the canopy and umbrellas to the steps of the Palace. He replied there was no precedent for this and it was contrary to custom. I replied: "On your visit to Bengal the King's letter was carried with golden umbrellas over it up to the steps of the G. G.'s palace. If H. M. wishes to show that he entertains sincere friendship towards the G. G. he will make no opposition to my demand." The Woondouk replied it was not a question of friendship but of custom. In Bengal we had allowed the umbrellas to be held over the letter as far as it violated no custom of ours; here it was very different. I in reply merely repeated what I had before said and

requested him to deliver that remark from me to the Magway Woongyee. This he promised to do. The Woondouk then began to speak of the presents as apportioned to the several members of the Royal Family.

In the evening Mr. Camaretta and Mr. Spears dined with us. The former told me that the Magway Woongyee, he believed at the instigation of Makertish, had represented to the King that it was not consistent with his dignity to admit the canopy and umbrellas up to the palace. The King affected to be surprised how they could have ascertained that he had given his consent and asked Camaretta where and how he communicated on the subject to me. I most certainly have not spoken thereon to any Burman until the Woondouk broached the subject about 4 p.m. today. So that the Woongyee, I feel certain, did not gain the knowledge through me. Probably Makatish [*sic*] may have learnt generally here that such was the intention, but scarcely that the King had consented through Camaretta. The King, it seems, represents the Woon as having addressed him in terms of respectful regret at not being trusted and that his Majesty signified his pleasure to admit umbrellas contrary to former precedent without consulting his Ministers. The King mentioned all this this morning.

11th. Tuesday. From what I gathered yesterday I imply that the secret request, which the King has to make, is for a river steamer to be made up for him in England without his advancing the money! In the afternoon the woondouk came to me, accompanied by the Tarathugyee, who resides here with the Tsayedaugyee. He commenced regarding the ceremonial of the procession to the Palace, intimated that no further objection would be made to the escort bearing their arms to the palace gate. He then entered on the subject of the G. G.'s letter being carried up to the Palace steps under a canopy and umbrellas. He said it was contrary to precedent and ought not to be insisted on. I replied as before that the Envoys to Bengal had been allowed to carry umbrellas over the King's letter up to the steps of Govt. House, and that if the King wished to show friendship for the G. G., no objection would be made to my proposition. The Woondouk then proceeded to argue that even for my own sake it was better and more distinctive of a King's letter to have it carried in the arms of an officer open to the world and the sky, as it hitherto has been by English Envoys, than when covered by a canopy and umbrellas. It would be supposed in fact by the spectators to be a portion of the presents. The Burmese too, he said, are given to make disparaging remarks and it will be said: "Why, there are only gifts; there is no 'King's voice'." I merely replied that the Magway Mengee was a man of great wisdom, and if he, the Woondouk, repeated faithfully what I had urged, I felt convinced he would acknowledge the reasonableness of my demand. The W. replied: "The Mengyee has already told me that it is evident I do not sufficiently explain to you all he says or you would assuredly assent to what is required, and certainly

if he were to consent it would be said that his wisdom was at fault." I here intimated that the subject admitted of no further argument and requested what I had said might be repeated. The W. replied: "I will not alter your words a hair's breadth." He then spoke of other parts of the ceremony. They are evidently desirous that I should proceed on an elephant instead of in a tonjon, as I propose, and the W. has frequently urged this upon me. In speaking of this he said: "Then you will come next the G. G.'s letter, and I shall come next you and, I am sorry to say, on an elephant placed higher than you, if you go in a tonjon, which on your account as looking less dignified I do not wish. I replied I have already made up my mind on the subject to go in a tonjon with two umbrellas displayed and cannot alter that. He said nothing more on the subject.

I omitted to mention that one of the Brahmin Pundits from Benares was with me when the W. came in. He arrived here 13 years ago via Arakan with seven others and their families. Four returned, one or two died and only one other family besides his now remain. [sic] He had a son with him born while on the road here. He had with him two Brahmins, from the Southern parts of Chittagong I believe. He is consulted about their almanac arrangements and performs the ceremony of consecration. On our public reception he will with other Brahmins attend to chant a sort of hymn which he told me would be in the Sanscrit language.

NAMES OF THE PYU.

1. The modern Burman writes the word Pyu 𑜋 *i.e.* *Prū*. But the older Burmese authors, so Pagan U Tin informs me, write it 𑜋𑜃 *i.e.* *Pyū*.

2. This seems to agree with the original Pagan inscriptions. Here I only find the word *Prū* once (*O.* 359⁶, 638 B.E.), where there is mention of the dedication of some *Prū* paddy fields (where they were, I cannot say). On the other hand the word *Pyū* occurs about six times; and sometimes, at least, appears to be an ethnic term. Thus we read (*O.* 262²³, 604 B.E.) of a "Pyū maid of honour" (*moñma*); but she had a Burmese name—*Ui'Plañ Sañ*. We read (*O.* 701¹³, 663 B.E.) of a "Pyū seller of firewood" (*thañ sañ*), also with a Burmese name; two lines above we read of "Pyū toddy palms" (*than*)—how they differed from Burmese toddy palms I cannot say. Elsewhere (*O.* 273 (*a*)⁷, 569 B.E.) we read of "land of the Kadu-Pyu Hillock" (*kantū pyū kun mli*)—two old ethnic terms of Burma side by side.

3. The form *Pyū*, as contrasted with *Prū*, is confirmed by the Chinese name which is *P'iao*. The earliest form of the name—written 𑜋, the old pronunciation of which, according to Karlgren, was *b'iaū*—occurs in some works dating from the Tsin dynasty (265-420 A.D.), which survive only in quotation. From the date of the Pyu visits to the T'ang Court, say 800 A.D., the form of the character is usually 𑜋. The account of the Pyu in the *New T'ang History* (ch. 222 C, f. 9^o) states as follows: "The P'iao call themselves 突羅朱 *T'u-lo-chu* [**t'uət-lâ-tsiu*]. The Javanese call them 徒里掘 *T'u-li-ch'ü* [**d'uo-lyi-k'iuət*]." It seems possible that these last two names may be two versions of the same name, the latter probably the more corrupt; and that therefore we have two names in all for the Pyu: (i) a name like 'Pyu' used by the Chinese, Nanchao and Burmans *i.e.* the peoples to the north of Burma, (ii) a name like **t'ulcu* used by the Pyu themselves and peoples to the south of Burma.

4. Now about 1101-2 A.D. Kyanzittha built a new palace at Pagan, with elaborate ceremonies which are fully described in Old Mon inscription No. IX (*Epigr. Birm.* Vol. III, Pt. I.) During the proceedings, we read on Face B, 142, there was "Burmese singing (*jīñjeh mirma*), Mon singing (*jīñjeh rmen*), and Tircul singing (*jīñjeh tircul*). The word *tircul* has troubled the scholars. Mr. Duroiselle (*R. S., A. S. B.* 1920, paragraph 36) suggests that it is an infixed form of *Cola*; but Dr. Blagden rightly points out that *Cola* reduplicated would be *circul*, not *tircul*. Besides I cannot help thinking that Tamil music would be a little out of place on this occasion. Surely if we must have another national music, what would be so likely as the Pyu? I suggest therefore that the *tircul* of the Mon is the **t'ulcu* of the Chinese; and that we have here approximations to the actual name of the Pyu for themselves.

တဆွဲနှစ်ရာသီ လူးတားနှင့် လူးတားဆရာအကြောင်း။

၎င်းဆွဲနှစ်ရာသီ လူးတားသည်၊ ပုံနှိပ်မှုအားဖြင့် သုံးမူရှိ၏။ ခရစ်သက္ကရာဇ် ၁၉၀၇ခု၊ ရန်ကုန်မြို့ ဆူးလေဘုရားလမ်း ဟံသာဝတီ သတင်းစာတိုက်မှ “ဆွဲနှစ်ရာသီဘွဲ့အမျိုးမျိုး” ဟူသောအမည်နှင့် ပုံနှိပ်ရောင်းချသော စာအုပ်ရှိ စာမျက်နှာ ၄၃-၅၄ တွင် မူတစောင်၊ ခရစ်သက္ကရာဇ် ၁၉၀၉ ခု မန္တလေးမြို့၊ အာဠာလမ်း၊ အထက်မြန်မာနိုင်ငံသတင်းစာ မီးစက်ပုံနှိပ်တိုက်မှ ပုံနှိပ်သော “ကဗျာသင်္ဂဟမေဒနီကျမ်း” စာအုပ်စာမျက်နှာ နံပါတ် ၆၈-၇၉ တွင် မူတစောင်။ ၁၉၂၉ ခု အစိုးရစာပုံနှိပ်တိုက်မှ ပုံနှိပ်ထုတ်ဆောင်သော မြန်မာစာညွန့်ပေါင်းတတိယတွဲ စာမျက်နှာ ၄၆-၅၂ တွင် မူတစောင်၊ ပေါင်းမူသုံးစောင်တည်း။

မြန်မာစာညွန့်ပေါင်းမှုတွင် အချိုးလူးတားမပါ၊ ၁၂ ပိုဒ်သာရှိ၏။

လူးတားဆရာနှင့် ပတ်သက်၍ အယူ အဆကွဲပြားကြ၏။ ကဗျာသင်္ဂဟမေဒနီကျမ်းတွင်၊ နဝဒေးရေးသည် ဟုလာရှိ၏။ ၎င်းနဝဒေးသည်၊ စစ်ကိုင်းထောင်သင်း၊ စလင်းလက်ျာ၊ ပြည်မှာ နဝဒေးဟု အမည်မွေးခဲ့သော ပဌမ နဝဒေးကြီးပင်လော။ သို့တည်းမဟုတ်၊ အမရပူရ ပဌမမြို့တည် နန်းတည်၊ ဘိုးတော်ဦးပိုင်းလက်ထက်၊ မော်ကွန်းရတု၊ အစုစုတို့ကို၊ ရေးသားထားခဲ့သော၊ ဝက်မစွပ်မြို့စား ဒုတိယ နဝဒေးပင်လောဟု တွေးတောစရာဖြစ်၏။ မြန်မာစာညွန့်ပေါင်းမှာမူ၊ ရတနာပူရမြို့၊ စဉ့်ကူးမင်းလက်ထက်၊ ကွမ်းရေတော်ကို မောင်ယာ၊ ဆိုခဲ့သော စာဟူ၍ ခေါင်းစဉ်တပ်လျက်ရှိ၏။ ဟံသာဝတီမူ၌ကား၊ ရေးသားခဲ့သူ၏ အမည်ကို ထုတ်တော်ခြင်းမရှိချေ။ တက္ကသိုလ်ကျောင်းတိုက်၊ မြန်မာဘာသာဂုဏ်ထူးဆောင်ဆရာကြီးဦးပွား၏အယူအဆအားဖြင့်၊ အတုလ ဆရာတော် ရေးသားခဲ့သည်ဟု မှတ်သားမိ၏။

ဤသို့အားဖြင့် လူးတားဆရာသုံးဦး လေးဦးဖြစ်၍နေရာ၊ ရှေးဦးစွာ၊ ပဌမနဝဒေးကြီး ဖြစ်တန် မဖြစ်တန်ကို ကြံဆသည်ရှိသော်၊ ဦးကုလားရေး ရာဇဝင်လတ်ရှိ နဝဒေးကြီး အထုပွတ္တိတွင်၊ ဆွဲနှစ်ရာသီဘွဲ့ လူးတားရေး ခဲ့ကြောင်းမပါမရှိချေ။ လူးတား၏စာသား၊ စကား အသွားအလာ၊ အစပ် အဟပ် အဘွဲ့အနှံ့တို့ကို ထောက်ရှုလျှင်၊ နဝဒေးကြီးရေး အခြားကဗျာများနှင့်မတူသဖြင့်၊ ပဌမ နဝဒေးကြီးမဖြစ်နိုင်ဟုယူဆက၊ မှားမည်မထင်။ ဒုတိယနဝဒေးလည်းမဖြစ်တန်ရာ၊ အကြောင်းကိုဆိုသော်၊ ဟံသာ၊ ကာကာစ၊ ကက္ကဋ္ဌာအစဖြာသေပေါ်ဦးဂါထာလာ၊ တာရာကြီးကိုးလုံးတို့၏ အကြောင်းကို၊ ဒုတိယနဝဒေးရေးပါဝရီမော်ကွန်း အပိုဒ်နံပါတ် ၃၆ တွင် သာရှိသည့်အတိုင်း ဇယား အင်းစောက်ချ၍ ပြသော် အောက်ပါအတိုင်းဖြစ်၏။

<u>နက္ခတ် ၂၇ လုံးအမည်။</u>	<u>တာရာကြီး ၉ လုံးအမည်။</u>	<u>လအမည်။</u>
(၁) အသဝဏီ၊ ဗရဏီ၊ ကြတ္တိကာ။	ကာကာ-ကျီးတာရာ	သီတင်းကျွတ်၊ တန်ဆောင်မုန်း။
(၂) ရောဟဏီ၊ မိဂသီ၊ အဗြ။	ဟံသာ-ဟင်္သာတာရာ	နတ်တော်လ၊
(၃) ပုဏ္ဏဒုဗျူ၊ ဖုဿ၊ အသ္မာလိဿ။	ကက္ကဋ္ဌာ-ပုဇွန်တင်ရာ	ပြာသိုလ၊
(၄) မာဿ၊ ပြုဗ္ဗဗြဂ္ဂန္တီ၊ ဥတ္တရဗြဂ္ဂန္တီ။	တူလာ-ချိန်တာရာ	တပို့တွဲ၊ တပေါင်း။
(၅) ဟဿဒ၊ စိတြ၊ သွာဒိ၊	စူဠာ-ဆံကျင်တာရာ	တန်ခူးလ။
(၆) ဝိသာခါ၊ အနုရာဓ၊ ဇေဋ္ဌ၊	ကောဠာ-ပုဏ္ဏား၊ တံငါ	ကဆုန်၊ နယုန်။
(၇) မူလ၊ ပြုပ္ပါသဋ္ဌ၊ ဥတ္တရာသဋ္ဌ၊	ဟတ္ထိ-ဆင်တာရာ	ဝါဆို။
(၈) သရဝဏ်၊ ဓနသိဒ္ဓ၊ သတ္တဘိသျှ၊	အဿာ-မြင်းတာရာ	ဝါခေါင်၊
(၉) မြုပ္ပါဘဒြပိုက်၊ ဥတ္တရာဘဒြပိုက်	ဗကာ-မျိုင်းတာရာ	တော်သလင်း။

ရေဝတီ။

သို့သော်လည်းတားဆရာအလိုအားဖြင့်၊ မိဿရာသီတန်ခူးဘွဲ့တွင်၊ “အဿဝဏီကြယ်၊ နေနှင့်ဆွယ်လျက် ညညှယ်ဝယ် စိကြ၊ သော်ဘာလနှင့်၊ လှည့်ကြမချွတ်၊ ကေဝဋ္ဌတာရာ၊ ယှဉ်ပြိုင်လာသော်၊” ဟု စပ်ဆိုသည်အရာ၊ တန်ခူးလ၌ ပုဏ္ဏား သို့မဟုတ် တံငါတာရာထွန်းကြောင်း၊ ပြဿရာသီဘွဲ့တွင်၊ “ကဆုန်လဟု၊ ပြည့်ထဝင်းဝါ၊ ဝိသာခါနှင့်၊ စန္ဒာလဝန်း၊ တူပြိုင်ထွန်းသော်၊ လေးကျွန်းလှည့်ပတ်၊ ဟတ္ထိတာရာ၊ ထင်တူပါ၍” ဆိုသည်အရာ-ကဆုန်လ၌ ဆင်တာရာထွန်းကြောင်း၊ ဤသို့အသီးသီးလာရှိရာ၊ ဇယားအင်းစောက်လုပ်ပြသော် အောက်ပါအတိုင်းဟူ၏။

<u>စန်းယှဉ်နက္ခတ်။</u>	<u>တာရာကြီး ၉ လုံး။</u>	<u>လအမည်။</u>
(၁) စိကြ၊	ကေဝဋ္ဌ-တံငါ၊	တန်ခူး၊
(၂) ဝိသာခါ၊	ဟတ္ထိ-ဆင်၊	ကဆုန်၊
(၃) ဇေဋ္ဌ၊	အဿ-မြင်း၊	နယုန်၊
(၄) ပြုပ္ပါသဋ္ဌ၊ သရဝဏ်၊ ပြုပ္ပါဘဒြပိုက်၊	ဗက-မျိုင်း၊	ဝါဆို၊ ဝါခေါင်၊ တော်သလင်း။
(၅) အဿဝဏီ၊ ကြတ္တိကာ၊	ကာက-ကျီး၊	သီတင်းကျွတ်၊ တန်ဆောင်မုန်း။
(၆) မိဂသီ၊	ဟံသ-ဟင်္သာ၊	နတ်တော်၊
(၇) ဗုဒ္ဓ၊	ကက္ကဋ္ဌ-ပုဇွန်၊	ပြာသို၊
(၈) မာဃ၊	တူလ-ချိန်၊	တပို့တွဲ၊
(၉) ဥတ္တရပရက္ခီ၊	စူဠ-ဆံကျင်၊	တပေါင်း၊

၎င်းအင်းစောက်နှစ်ခုကို ယှဉ်ကြည့်သော်၊ တော်သလင်း၊ သီတင်းကျွတ်၊ တန်ဆောင်မုန်း၊ နတ်တော်၊ ပြာသို၊ တပို့တွဲ၊ ဤခြောက်လအတွက် တော်ပြသော တာရာများသည်သာ၊ တညီတညာတည်းဖြစ်၍၊ ကျန်ခြောက်လရှိတာရာများတွင် မော်ကွန်းဆရာနှင့် လူးတားဆရာတို့ အယူ အဆကွာခြားကြ၏။ ထိုကြောင့်လူးတားဆရာနှင့် မော်ကွန်းဆရာတို့သည် ပုဂ္ဂိုလ်တဦးတည်းမဖြစ်နိုင်သည်မှာ၊ ထင်ရှားစွာ၏။

အတုလဆရာတော်ဟူသည်၊ အထင်အရှားအားဖြင့်၊ အလောင်းမင်းတရားကြီး ဆရာတော်ဖြစ်၏။ “မ” ကာရာလောပ၊ “မ” တလုံးကြေသောတောင်တွင်းကြီးဆရာတော် ခင်ကြီးဖျော်ကိုလည်း၊ တောင်တွင်းအတုလ ဆရာတော်ဟုဆရာများခေါ်ဝေါ်လေ့ရှိကြ၏။ ထိုဆရာတော်နှစ်ပါးလည်း၊ ဤလူးတားဆရာမဖြစ်နိုင်ကြောင်းကို ထင်ရှားစေအံ့။ လူးတားအပိုဒ်နံပါတ် ၆ ဖြစ်သော၊ ကန်ရာသီဘွဲ့နှင့် အပိုဒ်နံပါတ် ၈ ဖြစ်သော မြို့စွာရာသီဘွဲ့တွင်၊ “ဗိသ” ဟူသောပါဠိစကားကို၊ “နှစ်” ဂဏန်းအဖြစ်ဖြင့်သုံးထားခြင်း၊ ကုံရာသီဘွဲ့တွင်၊ “ပဉ္စဘဝါး” ရှိရမည့်အစား၊ “ကေဘဝါး” ဟုပင်ထားခြင်း၊ မိန်ရာသီဘွဲ့တွင်၊ ဆံကျင်တာရာကိုဆိုလိုရာ၌ “စူဠလိပ်နန်း” ဟုပါဠိစကား “စူဠ” ကိုအနက်ကြီးမှားခြင်း၊ ဤအချက်သုံးခုကို ထောက်သဖြင့်လည်း၊ အတုလဆရာတော်များရေးသားသော လူးတားမဟုတ်နိုင်ကြောင်းသိသာ၏။

ကွမ်းရေတော်ကိုင်ရာထူးသည်ဥာဏ်ကြီး ဥာဏ်ကျယ်ပညာကြွယ်ကြီးတို့၏ ရာထူးဟုတ်မည်မထင်၊ မဟု သုဘသင့် ချံ့ရှိသူလုံလောက်ရုံတတ်သိသူတို့အဘို့သာဖြစ်တန်ရာသဖြင့်၊ တာရာအရာ၊ ပါဠိဝေါဟာရအရာတို့တွင် ခလိတအချက်များပါရှိသောလူးတားဖြစ်ရကား၊ လူးတားဆရာသည်၊ ကွမ်းရေတော်ကိုင်မောင်ယာပင်ဖြစ်တန်ရာ၏ဟုအကျွန်ုပ်သဘောရရှိ၏။ ဆင်ခြင်တော်မူကြပါကုန်။

လူဘေဝင်း။

NOTE ON THE AUTHORSHIP OF TASENHAYATHI LUDA:—

Tasēnhayathī Luda is a poem on the twelve lunar months of the year. There are three printed editions of this poem. One of them is on pages 43-54 of the book entitled "Sēnhayathī bwè amyo myo" published by the Hanthawaddy Press, Rangoon; the second is on pages 68-79 of "Kabyāthingahamedanī" edited by R. Maung Lwin and the third in the Anthology of Burmese Literature, Vol. III, pages 46—52.

The first two editions have thirteen pieces in place of twelve of the Anthology Edition which omitted the introductory luda.

Opinions differ as to the authorship of the poem. According to Kabyāthingahamedanī, it was Nawadé who wrote it. R. Maung Lwin is not explicit as to whether the author was the three-titled Nawadēgyi of the 16th century or the second Nawadé of the 18th century. The Anthology however ascribes the authorship to Maung Yā whose office was to hold the betel box and water-jug for the King Singu-min. Hanthawaddy Edition has no say in the matter and leaves it blank. Saya Pwa of University College, on the other hand, takes the poem to be from the pen of Atula Sayadaw.

There are therefore three or four different authors attached to this one particular luda and this note is an attempt at giving a solution as to who the real author most probably is. To prove whether the author would be the first Nawadé or not we have as external evidence a sketch of his life and works in the Yazawin Lat of U Kala. The list of Nawadés works mentioned by U Kala does not contain any luda or any poem on the twelve lunar months. The style, the diction, and the subject-matter of the poem also indicate that the luda is more or less an eighteenth century product. I can therefore safely suggest that the author cannot be the Nawadēgyi of the 16th century.

Neither could he be the second Nawadé who is the reputed author of Bāwarī and Lawkavidū mawgun, two authoritative works on Burmese astronomy. In verse 36 of Bāwarī mawgun, the Astronomer Nawadé gave a list of the nine stars along with the 27 nakkhats in their regular order as may be seen in the following table.

Serial Order of the groups.	Name of the 27 Nakkhats in groups of three.	Name of the nine stars.	Names of the months in which groups of 3 Nakkhats appear with the full-moon,
1st ..	Assavani, Barani, Kyattika ..	The Crow ..	Thadingyut and Tazaungmôn.
2nd ..	Rohani, Migasī, Bhadra ..	The Sheldrake ..	Nadaw.

Serial Order of the groups.	Name of the 27 Nakkhats in groups of three.	Name of the nine stars.	Names of the months in which groups of 3 Nakkhats appear with the full-moon.
3rd ..	Punnaphusshu, Phusya, Asalissa ..	The Crab ..	Pyatho.
4th ..	Māgha, Pyubbaparagunṇī, Uttarapara- gunṇī.	The Balance ..	Tabodwé and Ta- baung.
5th ..	Hassada, Cittra, Swādi ..	The Hair-pin ..	Tagu.
6th ..	Visakhā, Anurādha, Jetṭha ..	The Fisherman ..	Kasôn & Nayôn.
7th ..	Mūla, Pruppāsan, Uttarāsan ..	The Elephant ..	Wazo.
8th ..	Sarawun, Dhanasiddha, Sattabhisha ..	The Horse ..	Wagaung.
9th ..	Pyuppabadrapaik, Uttarābadrapaik, Revati.	The Egret ..	Tawthalin.

But our Luda saya gives a different version. He couples the fisherman star with the cittra nakkhat for the month of Tagu. The nine stars as enumerated and arranged by him in the order of the twelve lunar months, may be seen in the following table.

Serial Order of the groups.	The attendant Nakkhat of the Moon.	Name of the nine stars.	Name of the months.
1st ..	Cittra	The Fisherman ..	Tagu.
2nd ..	Visakhā	The Elephant ..	Kasôn.
3rd ..	Jetṭha	The Horse ..	Nayôn.
4th ..	Pruppāsan, Sarawun, Pruppābada- paik.	The Egret ..	Wazo, Wagaung, Tawthalin.
5th ..	Assawani, Kyattikā	The Crow ..	Thadingyut, Taz- aungmôn.
6th ..	Migasi	The Sheldrake ..	Nadaw.
7th ..	Phusya	The Crab ..	Pyatho.
8th ..	Māgha	The Balance ..	Tabodwé.
9th ..	Uttaraparagunṇī	The Hair-pin ..	Tabaung.

If the two tables are compared, one can easily find out that the two statements about the stars agree in these six months only, *viz* : Tawthalin, Thadingyut, Tazaungmon, Nadaw, Pyatho and Tabodwè and differ in the remaining six months. It is obvious therefore that the author of the *Ludā* and that of the *Mawgun* could not be one and the same man.

In the case of *Atulasayadaw* also there were two in the persons of (i) *Makārālopa khin gyi phyaw*, who is recognised as so very learned that the *Sayadaw* is said to be ignorant of nothing; and (ii) the spiritual teacher of *Alaungpra*. Neither of them also could be the author of the *luda* for this simple reason. In verse No. 6 and 8, the two pieces which describe the beauties and bounties of the months of *Tawthalin* and *Tazaungmon*, the the Pāli numeral “*bīsa*” which means twenty was wrongly used by the author to mean “two.” In the piece on the month of *Tabodwè* the Pāli word “*eka*” wrongly occurs in place of the right word “*pañca*.” *Cūlā*, the Pāli word for the hair-pin star was incorrectly translated by the author as tortoise. These three points go far to prove that the author would be anybody but the two *Atulasayadaws*, the celebrated Pāli scholars of their time.

The most probable conclusion therefore is that the author should be *Maung Yā*. He held an office which did not demand thorough knowledge of astronomy or Pāli. The office of carrying the royal betel box and water-jug could be held by a man of ordinary intelligence, learning and personality. I hope I will not therefore be far wrong if I ascribe the authorship of the *luda* to *Maung Yā* of *Singu-min*'s regime. But it needs further research to get corroborative evidence to confirm the authorship.

LU PE WIN.

ကလသာအိုးနှင့် စကြိုအကြောင်း။

ကုကိုဖြစ်စေ။ စေတီကိုဖြစ်စေတည် လုပ်ရာ၌။ ကလသာအိုးနှင့် တူသောစကြိုထက်၌ တည်လုပ်လေ့ရှိကြောင်းကို။ အချို့သောပုဂံကျောက်စာများတွင်တတ်ရှုရ၏။ “စကြို”ဟူသောစကားမှာ။ လမ်းရှောက်သောနေရာ။ အထူးသဖြင့်။ မြေပလ္လင်သဘွယ်မြေမှ မြင့်ထားသော လူးလာတို့ခေါက် ရှောက်ရန် နေရာဟူ၍ အဓိပ္ပါယ်ရသော သင်္ကေတကို ဘာသာ “စကြိုမ” မှလာ၏။ ယခုတွေ့ရှိရသော ပုဂံဘုရားများ၏ တည်လုပ်ထားပုံအခြေအနေကိုထောက်ရှုသော်။ “စကြို”ဆိုသည်မှာ။ ကူစေတီစသည့်ဘုရားများ၏အောက်၌။ အခြေခံအဖြစ်ဖြင့်မြေပလ္လင်သဘွယ်ညီညာပျံ့ပျူးစွာပြုလုပ်ထားသည့်ရင်ပြင်တော်ကိုဆိုလိုဟန်လက္ခဏာရှိပေ၏။

ကျောက်စာသုံးခုတွင်။ စကြိုကို “ကလသာအိုင် အယောင်နှင့်တူသော” ဟူ၍၎င်း။ အခြားကျောက်စာသုံးခုတွင် “ကလသာအိုင်နှင့်တူသော” ဟူ၍၎င်း။ အခြားတခုတွင် “ကလသာကွန်အိုင် နှင်တူလက်ညှိသော” ဟူ၍၎င်းအသီးအသီးဘော်ပြီ၏။ ဤစကားရပ်အားလုံး၌ပင်။ စကြိုကို ကလသာအိုးနှင့် နှိုင်းယှဉ်ထားကြောင်း သိသာထင်ရှား၏။ (ဤကျောက်စာ ၇ ခုအနက်။ ၃ ခုတွင် “ကလသာအိုင်” ဟူ၍ရေး၏။)

“ကလသာဒိုင်” ဟူသော စကားမှာ။ ရေအိုးသို့မဟုတ် မိုင်းရေခံသော အိုးဟူ၍ အဓိပ္ပါယ်ရသော “ကလမ” ခေါ်သင်္သကရိုက်ဘာသာစကားမှဖြစ်လာဟန်ရှိ၏။ ၎င်း “ကလမ” ခေါ်အိုးမှာ။ ဟိန္ဒူဘုရားကျောင်းတို့၏ အထွတ်ချယ်လွယ်ပြုလုပ်ရာ၌အလွန်အရေးကြီးသောအဆင်တန်ဆာတခုဖြစ်၏။

အီး။ ဘီ။ ဟာဘယ် (လ်) (E. B. Havell) ဆိုသူရေးသားသည့် “Indian Architecture” ခေါ်စာအုပ်တွင်၊ ကလသာအိုးဆိုသည်မှာ။ ဟိန္ဒူအဆောက်အဦများ၏ အမိုးတွင်။ ပန်းရံဆရာများအမွန်းတင်ထားသော အခန်းအတွက် အရေးကြီးသော အဆင်တန်ဆာတခုဖြစ်ကြောင်း။ ၎င်းကလသာအိုးတွင်။ နိစ္စအမြဲတည်နေနိုင်သည့် အမြိုက်ရည်ပါရှိသည်ဟု ဟိန္ဒူလူမျိုးများ အယူရှိကြကြောင်း။ ၎င်းတို့၏ဘုရားကျောင်းများတွင် ကြာပွင့်ပုံလှလှထားသော အပြောက်ပန်းလှပေ၍။ ကြာဖူးနှင့် တကွသော ကလသာအိုးကိုအထွတ် တန်ဆာအဖြစ်ဖြင့် တည်ထားလေ့ ရှိကြောင်း ဘော်ပြထား၏။ (ဤသို့ပြုလုပ်ထားသောကလသာအိုးကို။ ရန်ကုန်မြို့။ စကောဓမ္မေအလွန်။ မောင်ဂိုမာရီလမ်းရှိ။ ဟိန္ဒူဘုရားကျောင်း၏ ထိပ်၌တွေ့မြင်နိုင်ပေ၏။) ထို့ကြောင့် ဟိန္ဒူဘုရားကျောင်းတိုင်းမှာလိုပင်။ ထိပ်၌ရေတကောင်းပုံနှင့် တူသော တန်ဆာဖြင့်ချယ်လွယ်ထားသည်ကိုတွေ့မြင်ကြရ၏။

ကုမရာဆာမိ၏ “Indian and Indonesian Art” ခေါ်စာအုပ်တွင်လည်း။ ရှေးကျသောဗုဒ္ဓဘာသာဘုရားများ၏ထိပ်၌ထီးပုံအဆင့်ဆင့်ပြုလုပ်ပြီးလျှင်။ ဟိန္ဒူဘုရားရှိ ကလသာအိုးကဲ့သို့သောအိုးကို။ ထိပ်ဆုံး၌ချယ်လွယ်ထားလေ့ရှိကြောင်းရေးသားထား၏။ ပါမောက္ခဆရာကြီးအာချာယ၏ “A Dictionary of Hindu Architecture” ခေါ်စာအုပ်တွင်။ ကလသာအိုးဆိုသည်မှာ။ အထွတ်တန်ဆာ။ သို့မဟုတ် အိုးတမျိုးစသည်ဟုအဓိပ္ပါယ်ပြဆို၏။

စကြိုနှင့် ကလသာအိုးတို့သည်။ တခုနှင့်တခုမည်သည့်နေရာတွင် တူသည်ဟူ၍တပ်အပ်ဘော်ပြရန်အလွန်ပင်ခဲယဉ်းလှပေ၏။ အထက်၌ဘော်ပြခဲ့ပြီးသည့်အတိုင်း။ အိန္ဒိယပြည်တွင်များသောအားဖြင့်။ ကလသာအိုးတလုံးတည်းကိုအထွတ်တန်ဆာအဖြစ်နှင့်ချယ်လွယ်ထားလေ့ရှိ၏။ သို့ရာတွင်။ ဝိမ (စ) ရပ် (သ) (Bima's Rath) ခေါ်ဟိန္ဒူဘုရားကျောင်းအဆောက်အဦ၏ အမိုးခေါင်တန်း၌ကား။ အပြီးမသတ်ရသေးသော ကလသာအိုး ၁၀ လုံးကိုစီတန်းထားကြောင်းတွေ့ရ၏။ (ရန်ကုန်မြို့မောင်ဂိုမာရီလမ်းရှိ ဟိန္ဒူဘုရားကျောင်းအဝင်ဝတွင်လည်း။ ဤသို့အိုးများကို စီတန်းလျက်ချယ်လွယ်ထား၏။) ပုဂံမြို့ရှိ အချို့ဘုရားများ၏ စကြိုပတ်လည်၌။ ကလသာအိုး ပုံသဏ္ဌာန်ရှိသောတိုင်တန်းများဖြင့် ကာရံထားသည်ကိုတွေ့ရ၏။ သို့ရာတွင်စကြိုကိုဤသို့ချယ်လွယ် ထားသည်မှာ အလွန်ပင်နည်းပါး၏။

“ကလသာဒိုင်အယောင်နှင့် တူသောစကြို” ဟူသောစကားရပ်၌။ “အယောင်” ဟူသည်မှာ။ ယခု “အရောင်” ဟူသောစကားကိုပင်ဆိုလိုသည်ဟုယူဆလျက်။ ဝါကျတခုလုံးကို “ကလသာအိုးနှင့် အရောင်အဆင်းတူသောစကြို” ဟူ၍အချို့ပုဂ္ဂိုလ်တို့အဓိပ္ပါယ်ပြန်ဆိုကြ၏။ သို့ရာတွင်။ ရှေးကျသောဟိန္ဒူနှင့် ဗုဒ္ဓဘာသာအဆောက်အဦကြီးများရှိကလသာအိုးများ၌ထူးခြားထင်ရှားသောအရောင်ရှိကြောင်းဘော်ပြထားသဖြင့်။ ဤအဓိပ္ပါယ် အတိုင်းယူဆရန်လည်းခဲယဉ်း၏။ “အယောင်” ဟူသောစကားကို။ ယခုသုံးအဓိပ္ပါယ်အတိုင်း “ပုံသဏ္ဌာန်တူခြင်း” အနက်ယူဆရန်လည်း။ ၎င်းစကားရပ်၏အဓိပ္ပါယ်မှာ။ များစွာမတိုက်ဆိုင်လှချေ။ အဘယ်ကြောင့်ဆိုသော်။ စကြိုဆိုသည်မှာ။ အထက်၌ပြဆိုအပ်ခဲ့ပြီးသည့် အတိုင်း။ များသောအားဖြင့်။ လေးထောင့်ပုံသဏ္ဌာန်ရှိ၍။ ညီညာပုံ၊ ဖျူးစွာဆောက်လုပ်ထားသည့် အောက်ခံရပ်တော်ဖြစ်သည့်ပြင်။ ပုဂံ၌ကျန်ရှိရစ်သေးသောဘုရားများ၏စကြိုများမှလည်း။ ကလသာအိုးနှင့် ပုံပန်းသဏ္ဌာန်တူကြောင်း အထောက်အထားတခုမျှမပြနိုင်သောကြောင့်တည်း။ သို့ရာတွင်မင်္ဂလာစေတီတွင်ကား။ ဘုရားပစ္စယံများ၏ ထောင့်၌။ ကလသာအိုးကဲ့သို့သော အိုးကလေးများကို အုဉ်ဖြင့် ပြုလုပ်ထားသည်ကိုတွေ့ရ၏။ “ကလသာဒိုင်” ဟူရာ၌။ ဤအိုးကလေးများကိုပင် ဆိုလိုပေ သလောဟုတွေးထင်ဘွယ်ရှိ၏။

“ကလသာအိုင်နှင့်တူသောစင်္ကြံ” ဟူသည့်စကားရပ်၌လည်းစင်္ကြံသည်မည်သည့်နေရာတွင်မည်သို့ ကလသာအိုးနှင့်တူသည် ဟူ၍မသိဘဲ။ အိုးနှင့်တူကြောင်းသာမညအားဖြင့် သာဘော်ပြထားသော ကြောင့်အဓိပ္ပါယ်ယူဆရန်ခဲယဉ်း၏။

ကလသာအိုးဆိုသည်မှာလည်း။ ရန်တဘိုမြို့အိုးမျိုးကဲ့သို့။ မြေဖြင့်ပြုလုပ်ထားသည့်အိုးသစ်ဖြစ်ကြောင်း။ သဇင်ပန်းစသောပန်းတော်။ ရေတော်ထို့ကို ဘုရင်မင်းမြတ်အားဆက်သသော အခမ်းအနားများတွင်။ ဤမင်္ဂလာရှိသောအိုးဖြင့်ထည့်လျက်ဆက်သရကြောင်း။ ၎င်းအိုး၏အရောင်မှာ။ အုဋ်ကိုအုဋ်ချင်းပွတ်တိုက်ရာ၌ ထွက်သော မြေနှိမ့်အရောင်မျိုးဖြစ်ကြောင်း။ ပုဂံဝန်ထောက်မင်းဦးတင်ထံမှမှတ်သားရတူး၏။

အထက်တော်ပြရာပါအချက်များသည်လုံလောက်သော ဖြေရှင်းချက်များမဟုတ်ခဲ့သော်။ ကလသာအိုးဟူသော စကားမှာ။ ကုလား အဆောက် အဦများ၏ ပိသုကာအခေါ် အဝေါ်အမည်များမှ ကောက်နှုတ်၍။ အဓိပ္ပါယ်သုံးမရှိ အလွဲသုံးထားသောပေါက်ကရစကားမျိုးပေလော။ ကုစေတီစသည့်ဘုရားများကို။ အိုးနှင့်နှိုင်းယှဉ်ပါက။ အဓိပ္ပါယ် လိုက်လျောသင့်တော်ပေသေး၏။ ယခုမှာမူ။ ကလသာအိုးနှင့်တူသောစင်္ကြံဟုပါရှိသဖြင့် အဓိပ္ပါယ်ကောက်ယူရန် အလွန်ပင်ခဲယဉ်းသည်ဟုသဘောရရှိပါသည်။ စဉ်းစားတော်မူကြပါကုန်။

မမြေ

THE KALASĀ POT.

In the Pagan inscriptions, we frequently read of pagodas, either kū or cetī being built on a “caṅkram” resembling a “kalasa pot.” The word “caṅkram” is the sanskrit “caṅkrama,” which means a place where one walks, especially a terraced walk. From the form of the Pagan pagodas as we can see them now, the caṅkram most probably refers to the platform for promenade, on which the pagoda is built.

In three inscriptions, the caṅkram is further defined as “kalasā uiw ayoṇ nhañ tū so”; in three others it is defined as “kalasā uiw nhañ tū so”; in another the phrase “kalasā kwan uiw nhañ tū la kañ so” is used. All these seven passages may be generally translated to mean “like a kalasa pot.”

The word “kalasā uiw” seems to refer to the ‘kalasha’ (meaning a water pot, a rain vase) which is a prominent part of the Hindu temples. Havell in his “Indian Architecture” says:—“The water pot, the kalasha or Kumbhu held the creative element, or the nectar of immortality churned by gods and demons from the cosmic ocean In Hindu buildings it is always treated as an important part of the dome’s structure and as a symbol called in sanskrit the ‘kalasha’ or water pot. The kalasha containing a lotus bud, placed above the mahā padma or the amalaka as a finial, was a most appropriate symbol of the creative element and of life itself.” An example of the kalasā pot may be seen on top of the Hindu temple in Montgomery street, just beyond Scott market.

It is therefore usual to notice that the domes and sikharas of Hindu Temples are surmounted by an ornament, shaped like a bulbous pot. The ancient Buddhist stūpa, according to Coomara Swammy’s ‘Indian and Indonesian art,’ “consists of a solid dome (aṇḍa or garbha) with a

triple circular base and above the dome a cubical "mansion" or "God's house" (harmikāsin duakotuwa) from which arises a metal mast (yaṣṭi) the base of which penetrates far into the Aṇḍa; and this mast bears a range of symbolical parasols (chatra) and the top a rain-vase (varṣasthāla) corresponding to the kalasa of a Hindu shrine."

According to Professor Acharya's 'a Dictionary of Hindu Architecture,' the word "kalas(s)a" means a pitcher, a cupola, a finial, a dome, a pinnacle, a tower, a type of round building or a summit of a tower.

The difficulty lies in attempting to find points of resemblance between the kalasā pot and the caṅkraṁ. The kalasā pot is usually the surmounting finial in India, though it is interesting to note that it was not always used as such, for, the roof ridge of Bhima's Rath has a row of 18 kalasā pots unfinished (Havell's 'A study of Indo-Aryan civilization'.) The roof ridge of the entrance to the Hindu Temple in Montgomery street has a row of kalasā pots along the top. The caṅkraṁ of the pagodass at Pagan may sometimes have had a railing (vedika) of posts shaped like kalasā pots. But this is not common at Pagan.

In the phrase "kalasā uiw ayoṇ nhañ tū so caṅkraṁ," the word *ayoṇ*, spelt with a *o* is interpreted by some to mean "colour" and the phrase translated "the platform like in colour to a kalasā pot." As we can find no mention of a distinctive colour that the kalasa pot had in Ancient Hindu and Buddhist monuments, it is rather difficult to accept this explanation. On the other hand, the word *ayoṇ*, spelt with a *o* which now means a resemblance or likeness in form, does not seem to throw much light on the subject. The caṅkraṁ is a flat square basement, and as far as we can see from the ruins of the pagodas at Pagan, it bears no likeness in form to the kalasā pot. On the Maṅgala ceti at Pagan, we can find standing at the corners of the terrace ornaments shaped like kalasā pots. Does this phrase refer to such ornaments on the terraces or caṅkraṁ?

If these are not the explanations is 'kalasā pot', merely a meaningless catch word, borrowed from Indian works on architecture and misapplied? One might accept this, if the pagoda as a whole were compared to the pot. But who would ever think of comparing a platform to a pot?

MA MYA MU.

ပုဂံမင်းဆက်ရာဇဝင်လာအချို့သောမင်းတို့၏
အကြောင်း။

ယခုကျောက်စာသည်တူးရှင်းတောင်ရှိသက်စိုးတောင်ကျောက်စာဖြစ်၏။ ထိုကျောက်ချပ်ကြီးတွင် ကျောက်မျက်နှာဘက်နှစ်ဘက်တို့၌ ကမ္ဘည်းများရေးသားထားလျက်ရှိရာ။ ကျောက်စာဝန်ရုံးကပုံနှိပ်ရောင်းချသော ၁၉၀၀ ခုနှစ်ပုံနှိပ်သောအထက် မြန်မာနိုင်ငံမူရင်းထားသည့်ကျောက်စာများ။ ပဌမတွဲခေါ် စာအုပ်ရှိ စာမျက်နှာ

နံပါတ် ၁၈၃ တွင်ကျောက်စာတန်ခိုးစာများကိုသာတော်ပြပါရှိ၏။ မျက်နှာဘက်ရှိကမ္ဘာများကားမပါရှိချေ။ယခုပြောပြမည်ဖြစ်သောကျောက်စာသည်။မျက်နှာဘက်ရှိကမ္ဘာများအကြောင်းဖြစ်သည်။ ။

ဤကျောက်စာကို ဘတ်ရှုသောသူသည် ကျောက်ပေါ်ရှိကမ္ဘာများကို ထင်ရှားစွာမမြင်နိုင်။ မေ့စွဲမဘတ်နိုင်ငြားသော်လည်း။ ပုဂံပြည်ကြီးကိုထီးမိုး၍ အုပ်စိုးတော်မူသွားကြသော အချို့သောမင်းများ၏ အစဉ်အဆက်ကိုဘော်ပြသည်ဟူ၍သိရှိပေလိမ့်မည်။ ၎င်းကျောက်စာသည်နားတောင်းများလက်ထက်၌ ရေးသားသောကျောက်စာဖြစ်လိမ့်မည်ဟူသဘောရရှိ၏။မျက်နှာဘက်ကျောက်စာတွင်ထိုမင်းနန်းတက်သောသက္ကရာဇ်ပီ ခုနှစ်။ သက္ကရာဇ်မှာနောက် ၈ ဇာန်နှစ်လုံးကိုသေချာစွာမမြင်ရသဖြင့်။ မည်သည့်ခုနှစ်ဟူ၍ ဘတ်ယူရန်မလွယ်လှချေ။ ဤသက္ကရာဇ်ကို မူလထိုး ကျောက်စာ နံပါတ် ၂၃၀ ဇေယပွတ် ကျောက်စာစာကြောင်းရေး ၁ ၌ “သကရစ် ၅၇၃ ခုအာသိန်နှစ်။တင်္တိသွင်ဇ္ဇန် ၁၀ ပြက်ကြသပတိယ်နိယအာ။ဥစိနာမင်ရှယ်တောင်တက်၏” ဟူ၍တွေ့ရှိရ၏။ဤကျောက်စာမှာနားတောင်းများလက်ထက်၌နားတောင်းများမင်းသည်။ရှေးမင်းအဆက်ဆက်တို့ (ကျွန်) လွှတ်သည့်နည်းတူ။ သူလည်းလွှတ်ကြောင်းကို ရေးသားထားသော ကျောက်စာဖြစ်၏။ ထိုကဲ့သို့ မင်းအဆက်ဆက်တို့ကိုဘော်ပြရာ၌အမည်များကိုထင်ရှားစေစွာမမြင်နိုင်။မဘတ်ယူနိုင်ချေ။

ဥဒါဟရက် ပြရမည်ဆိုလျှင်။ ဤကျောက်စာ၏စာကြောင်းရေး ၃ ၌ “မင်းလုလင်နာတဝိကြာရကာ” ဟုဆို၏။ ဤနေရာတွင် “မင်းလုလင်” မှာစောလူးမင်းကိုဆိုလို၏။ အဘယ်ကြောင့်ဆိုသော် “စောလူးမင်း” ဟူရာ၌ “စော” ဟူသောစကားမှာရှမ်းစကားဖြစ်၍ “မင်း” သို့မဟုတ် “မြတ်ခြင်း” ကိုဆိုလို၏။ “လူး” မှာ ပေါရာဏစကားဖြစ်၍ “ငယ်ရွယ်ကြောင်းကိုဆို၏။ထို့ကြောင့် “စောလူး” ဟူသောအမည်မှာ ငယ်ရွယ်သော မင်းဟုအဓိပ္ပါယ်ရလေသည်။ “မင်းလုလင်” ဟူရာ၌လည်း “လုလင်” မှာငယ်ရွယ်ကြောင်းကို ပင်ဆိုပြန်သဖြင့် ငယ်ရွယ်သောမင်းဟုအဓိပ္ပါယ်ရပြန်လေသည်။ထို့ကြောင့် “စောလူး” နှင့် “မင်းလုလင်” ဟူသောအမည်တို့ ၏အဓိပ္ပါယ်မှာအတူတူပင်ဖြစ်လေသည်။ ။

[စောနှစ်မင်းကိုလည်း မင်းလုလင် ဟူ၍ခေါ်ဝေါ် ထားကြောင်းကို။ သက္ကရာဇ် ၆၆၁ ခုနှစ် မူလထိုးကျောက်စာနံပါတ် ၄၀၈ ၌တွေ့ရှိရလေသည်။]

တဖန်ဤကျောက်စာ စာကြောင်းရေး ၄ ၌ “ထိလိုင်မင်လက်ထက်လေလွှတ်အေ” ဟုဆို၏။ “ထိလိုင်မင်” မှာကျွန်စစ်သားကို ဆိုလိုသည်။နောက်ရေးသောကျောက်စာများနှင့် ရာဇဝင်များထဲ၌ကား “ထီးလိုင်ရှင်” ဟု ရေးသားထားလေသည်။ ပုဂံမူလထိုးကျောက်စာဟောင်းများအနက်။ ဤကျောက်စာတခုထဲ၌သာကျွန်စစ်သား ၏အမည်ကို “ထိလိုင်မင်” ဟုရေးထားကြောင်းတွေ့ရလေသည်။ မြစေတီကျောက်စာများနှင့် ကျွန်စစ်သား၏ အခြားမွန်ကျောက်စာများထဲ၌ကား “ပြီတြဘုဝနာဒိတျမ္မရာဇ်” ဟူသောဘွဲ့ကိုသာ တွေ့ရလေသည်။နောက် ရေးသော ကျောက်စာများ၌ “ကလန်စစ်သာ” ဟူ၍လည်းတခါ တရံတွေ့ရသေး၏။ သို့သော်ထိုကျောက်စာ များမှာပုဂံခေတ်ကုန်လွန်ပြီးနောက်မှရေးသားဟန်တူလေသည်။ထို့ကြောင့်ရှေးပုဂံကောင်းစားစဉ်အခါ၊ဗိဇ္ဇိလာ မြို့၏ မြောက်ဘက် ထိလိုင် အရပ်၌ ကျွန်စစ်သားသည် မင်းပြုလုပ် ဘူးသောကြောင့်။ ထိုကျွန်စစ်သား အား “ထိလိုင်မင်” ဟူ၍ရှေးအခါကခေါ်ဝေါ်ကြောင်းထင်ရှားလှပေသည်။ ။

၎င်းပြင်ဤကျောက်စာ၏စာကြောင်းရေး ၄ ၌ပင် “သက်တံရှည်လက်ထက်လေလွှတ်၏” ဟူ၍ သက်တံ ရှည်အမည်ကို မထင်မရှားမျှသာ ဘတ်ယူ၍ရလေသည်။ အခြားမူလထိုး မြန်မာ ကျောက်စာဟောင်းများတွင် “မင်စည်သူ” ဟူ၍ဤမင်းနှင့်တကွ အချို့သောပုဂံမင်းတို့အားခေါ်ဝေါ်ထားကြောင်းတွေ့ရလေသည်။ မူလထိုး ကျောက်စာနံပါတ် ၂၀၀ ကြောင်းရေး ၄ ၌လည်းထိုမင်းအား “မင်သက်တာဝိရှည်” ဟုခေါ်ဝေါ်ထားလေသည်။ ဤကျောက်စာ၌ပါသော “သက်တံရှည်” မှာပုဂံမင်းဆက်ရှိမင်းအစီအစဉ်အတိုင်းတော်ပြထားသောကြောင့်။ ရှေ့ ကုဒါယကာအလောင်းစည်သူကို ဆိုလိုကြောင်းသိရ၏။

ထို့ပြင်ဤကျောက်စာ၏စာကြောင်းရေး ၅ ခုလည်း “ဤတပ်သူလက်ထက်လေလွှတ်၏” ဟူ၍ “သူ” စကားလုံးမှာမထင်မရှားသာဘက်၍ရှိ၏။ မသေချာလှချေ။ သို့သော်အကယ်၍ “သူ” ဟူ၍ဘတ်ခွဲပါလျှင်။ အမည်မှာ ဤတပ်သူဟုဆိုလိုဟန်တူ၏။ င သတ်မှတ်ကျန်ခဲ့ဟန်တူ၏။ ဤနေရာ၌ “ဤတပ်သူ” မှာနရသူမင်းအားဆိုလိုဟန်လက္ခဏာရှိ၏။ အဘယ်ကြောင့်ဆိုသော်။ ရာဇဝင်များ၌ ရွှေကူဒါယကာအလောင်းစည်သူမင်းတွင်သားတော် ၂ ပါးရှိသည့်အနက်။ သားတော်အကြီးမင်းလျှင်စောမှာ။ မည်းတော်ကပုတက်ခေါ်အောင်ပင်လယ်အရပ်သို့ပို့ထားသဖြင့်။ သားတော်အငယ်နရသူဟုပါးသာလျှင်။ ရှေးခေတ် “ဤတပ်” ယခုခေါ်နန်းတော်၌ မင်းကြီးအပါးတော်ဝယ် အစဉ်ခစားနေကြောင်း။ မည်းတော်ရွှေကူဒါယကာအလောင်းစည်သူမင်းသက်တော်ကြီးရင့်တော်မူသောအခါ။ မည်ကဲ့သို့ “ဤတပ်၏အသျှင်” ဖြစ်အောင်ပြုလုပ်ကြောင်းများကို ဘော်ပြကြသည်သာမက။ ထိုင်းသားနရသူပမင်းကြီးမကျန်းမာသောအခါ။ ဤတပ်မှဆောင်ကြဉ်း၍ ဤတပ်အနီးရှိကောင်းမှုတော်ရွှေကူဘုရားတွင်ခတ္တထားပြီးလျှင်။ အဆုံးစီရင်ကြောင်းပါရှိလေသည်။ ။

ထိုမှတပါး။ ဤကျောက်စာ၏ စာကြောင်းရေး ၅ ခုပင် “နရပတိလက်ထက်လေလွှတ်၏” ဟူ၍ ဆို၏ “နရပတိ” ဟူသော စကားများသည် မထင်ရှားလွန်း၍ မှန်းဆကာသာ ဘတ်ယူရလေသည်။ အကယ်၍ “နရပတိ” ဟုထင်ရှားစွာဘတ်နိုင်ခဲ့ပါလျှင်။ ဤနေရာ၌။ နရပတိစည်သူမင်းဟုဆိုလိုဟန်တူ၏။ သို့သော်အခြားမူလထိုးမြန်မာကျောက်စာများ၌ကား “ဩဠာဘဝနာဒိတျပဝရဓမ္မရာဇာ” ဟူသောပုဒ်နှင့် “မင်စည်သူ” ဟူသောအမည်တို့ကိုသာများစွာတွေ့ရှိရလေသည်။ “ဓမ္မရာဇာ” ကျောက်စာတွင်တွေ့ရှိရသောပုဒ်၌ကြီး၌ “နရပတိ” ဟုပါရှိ၏။ သို့သော်၎င်းနရပတိဟူသောစာသား၏နောက်၌ “စည်သူ” ဟူသောစကား ဆက်၍မပါရှိချေ။ ထို့ကြောင့်နရပတိ စည်သူဟူသော အမည်အစုံအလင်စာသားကိုမူလထိုးကျောက်စာဟောင်းများထဲ၌မတွေ့ရသေးချေ။ “နရပတိ” ဟူသောအမည်မျှဖြင့်သာ။ ထိုမင်းအားခေါ်ဝေါ်နိုင်မည်လားဟူ၍ တွေးတောစဉ်းစားတွယ်ရှိ၏။ ထို့ကြောင့်လုံလောက်သောသက်သေသကမရှိသေးသဖြင့်။ ဤနေရာ၌တာမျှဘော်ပြခြင်းမပြုဘဲ ကွက်လပ်ထားလျှင်အကောင်းဆုံးဖြစ်အံ့သတည်း။

ဤကဲ့သို့ဘော်ပြခဲ့သည့်အတိုင်း “မင်လုလင်” အားစောလူး၊ “ထီလိုင်မင်” အားကျန်စစ်သား၊ “သက်တံရှည်” အားအလောင်းစည်သူ၊ “ဤတပ်သူ” အားနရသူ၊ “နရပတိ” အားနရပတိ စည်သူဟူ၍ မင်းအစီအစဉ်အတိုင်းဘတ်ယူခဲ့ပါလျှင်။ ရာဇဝင်လာမင်းယဉ်နရသိင်္ခသည် ဤတပ်သူနှင့် နရပတိမင်းတို့၏အကြား၌ကျန်နေဟန်တူ၏။ ဤကဲ့သို့ကျန်နေသည်ကိုဆင်ခြင်သော်။ အောက်ပါအချက်ကြီး ၂ ချက်ပေါ်လာ၏။ (၁) ထိုမင်းယဉ်နရသိင်္ခမင်းအားရာဇဝင်စာအုပ်များတွင်နရသူမင်းနှင့်နရပတိစည်သူမင်းတို့၏အကြား၌မှား၍ ထည့်သွင်းထားခြင်း။ (၂) ထိုမင်းယဉ် နရသိင်္ခဟူသော အမည်သည် တယောက်သောမင်း၏ အမည်မဟုတ်။ ၂ ယောက်သောမင်း၏ အမည်ဖြစ်တန်ရာ၏။ အဘယ်မင်း ၂ ပါးနည်းဟူမူ က သက္ကရာဇ် ၅၉၃-၅၉၆ ခုနှစ်အတွင်း၌မင်းလုပ်၍ကျစွာ၏အစ်ကိုဖြစ်ဟန်တူသောကျောက်စာလာ “နရသိင်္ခဥဇ္ဇနာ” နှင့် ၁ ရာဇဝင်လာသီဟသူဖြစ်ဟန်တူသော။ နရသီဟပတေ့၏ နောင်တော်။ နရသီဟပတေ့မ တိုင်မှီပုဂံပြည်တွင် မင်းလုပ်သွားသော ကျောက်စာလာ “မင်ယဉ်” တို့တည်းသို့သော် ဤမင်းယဉ်နရသိင်္ခ အကြောင်းကို စုံလင်စွာစဉ်းစား၍ရေးသားပြောဆိုရမည်ဆိုလျှင်တိုတိုနှင့်ပြီးနိုင်မည်မဟုတ်ချေ။ ။

မမြသန်း

SOME OF THE EARLIER KINGS OF PAGAN DYNASTY.

This is the Thetso Mt. inscription from Tuywindaung. There are two faces of this inscription. The reverse is published in Book I of "Inscriptions collected in Upper Burma I" (1900) but the obverse is not yet published. This is the obverse one, which I am going to tell about.

This inscription is not very easy to read, but the interesting fact, which one can just make out is that it contains a list of the earlier kings of Pagan dynasty. It appears that this inscription was inscribed during the reign of King Nātonmyā, and the obverse gives the date of his accession. It is not very easy to read the year, as the latter two figures are not clear. But this date is clearly given in the Zeyapwat inscription, as Thursday, the 10th Waxing of the month of Tausalañ in the year 573 B.E. = about the 18th August 1211 A. D. The inscription mentions the dedication of slaves by King Nātonmyā, as his royal forefathers had done. The names of these forefathers however are often difficult to read. For examples :—

In line 3 of this inscription, it says *mañlulañ nā taw krā rakā*, it means "Mañlulañ having been informed." In this case *mañlulañ* is King *colu*. For in the name *colu*, "co" is a Shan word and means a king or noble, whereas "lu" is an old Burmese word, meaning young. So *colu* means a young king. In the case of *mañlulañ*, *mañ* is a king and *lulañ* means young. So this name also means a young King. Thus the names *colu* and *mañlulañ* have the same meaning.*

Again in line 4 of this inscription it says "*Thiluiñ mañ lak thak le kwat e*" it means, "it was also dedicated in the reign of the king of Thiluiñ." Here *Thiluiñ mañ* means King Kyansittha. Later inscriptions and the chronicles call him *Thiluiñ syañ*. This is the only original inscription of the period, which states the name of *Thiluiñ mañ*. In his Mon inscriptions and in the Myazedi, this king is called by the title of "*Sri Tribhuvanādityadhammarāj*." In later inscriptions he is sometimes called "*Kalancacsā*." But these are probably post Pagan period. Therefore it is clear, that this king is called *King of Thiluiñ*, as he had ruled over Thiluiñ, a place north of Meikhtila.

Again in line 4 of this inscription, it says *Sak tau rhañ lak thak le kwat e*." It means "it was also dedicated in the reign of Sak tau rhañ." The name is not very distinct. Elsewhere, in other original Burmese inscriptions, we find the name "King Cañsū" applied to this King as well as other Pagan Kings. In one other original Burmese inscription, he is called *King Saktaw rhañ* (list 200 l. 4)." Here we have to assume that, the name Sak tau rhañ means Rhwekūdāyakā Aloncañsū as the inscription is stating the list of the earlier kings of Pagan.

* [The King Conac was also called Mañlulañ in the original inscription, list 408, in the year 661 B.E.=1299 A.D.]

Again in line 5 of this inscription, it mentions “(im) taw (sya) lak thak le lwat e’, meaning “it was also dedicated in the reign of (im) taw (sya).” We can not read the word (sya) clearly. But if we read it as (sya), it can mean (im) taw (syañ), where ñ might be dropped out. Here im taw sya seems to mean the King Narasū. According to the chronicles, the king Rhwekūdāyakā had two sons. While the elder Mañ lyañco was sent to Putak (Aungpinle) by his father, the younger Narasū had to stay near his father in the palace, which in old Burmese is called im taw. The chronicles tell how Narasū made himself “lord of the palace” in his father’s old age and even went so far as to move the old man, while he was ill with fever, out of the palace into the Rhwekū temple near by, where he murdered him.

Next in line 5 of this inscription, it is barely possible to read (Narapati) lak thak le lwat e’ meaning, “it was also dedicated in the reign of Narapati.” The reading *Narapati* is extremely doubtful. If we accept it, it would obviously mean *Narapaticañsū*. This king in other original Burmese inscriptions is usually called simply *King Cañsū* or by Pali titles. The long title given in his Dhammarājaka stone inscription contains the word “Narapati.” But it is not followed by cañsū; so that the whole name “Narapaticañsū” has not yet been found in the original inscriptions of the period. Whether *Narapati* could be used by itself for this king is quite doubtful, and in the absence of corroborative evidence, it would be best here to leave a blank.

Thus if we read Mañlulañ as (colu), Thiluiñ mañ as (Kyansittha), Sak tau rhañ as (Aloncañsū), Im taw syañ as (Narathū) and Narapati as (Narapaticañsū) successively, it seems the King Mañ Yañ Narasinkha, who is mentioned in the chronicles is left out between Im taw (sya) and Narapati. The reason is probably this:—first; that he is wrongly placed in the chronicles between Narasū and Narapaticañsū. Secondly, that he is not one person but two, namely, (1) Narasinkha Ujjanā of the inscriptions, probably the elder brother of Klacwā, who seems to have reigned from, about 593-596 B. E. = 1231-1234 A. D. and (2) the Mañ Yan of the inscriptions who was the elder brother and predecessor of Narasihapate, corresponding perhaps to the Thihathū of the chronicles. But to consider fully this problem of Mañ Yañ Narasinkha would take too long.

MA MYA THAN.

BARGAINING BY TOUCH.

In volume XIX, part I, of the Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society, published in January of this year, is a passage about bargaining by touch which is of interest in Burma. Colonel H. S. C. Smallwood, lecturing before the Society on Manchuria and Mongolia, notes that trading is largely by barter amongst the nomad Mongols, and he describes the process as follows.

"The Mongol method of bargaining is peculiar. The first day of a air is devoted to inspecting and appraising the cattle, and in pony racing. At night in the yurts (felt tents) the buyers and sellers will sit near one another and the buyer will put his right hand into the wide sleeve of the seller. By pressing different parts of different fingers of the right hand the buyer conveys how many oxen or sheep he wants to buy and how much he will pay. This bargaining is unseen and unheard, and sheep quotations are not the property of the public like the price of war loan.

An actual bargain is as follows :—

Buyer : *Three pressures of the right hand* (Do you want to buy) ?

Seller : *One pressure* (Yes).

Seller : *Two pressures* (No).

The buyer then indicates the number or unit by pressing different fingers of the seller, each finger indicating a different unit. After five the fingers are hooked to indicate 6, thumb and two first fingers placed together 7, thumb and index fingers pointing in different directions 8, the index finger hooked 9, first the thumb and then the little finger pressed signifies 11. As all these pressures take place under cover of the wide sleeve, the onlookers learn nothing of the bargain."

A system of bargaining similar to this used to be common in the paddy trade in Burma, and there must be old people who still practise it. Can any member of the Burma Research Society describe it, and perhaps even give some account of its history and origin ?

Mongolia is regarded as the source of those Mongol invasions which reached from middle Europe to the China sea coast, and which penetrated into Burma. Did this bargaining by touch come to Burma from China, through Yunan; and how wide spread is it over eastern Asia ?

J. N. L.

BURMESE TEXT PUBLICATIONS, No 21 (REVIEW.)

MAHAYAZAWINGYI : By U KALA. Edited by Saya Pwa. Vol. II.

* * * *

This volume of U Kala's History covers a very interesting period, the fifteenth and the first three quarters of the sixteenth centuries A. D. —the last days of the small kingdoms and their petty wars, the advent of the Portuguese with cannon and gunpowder, and the emergence with the aid of artillery of Toungoo and Arakan as kingdoms of some note.

U Kala's History is the principal basis of the Hmannan History in which large portions of it are incorporated *verbatim*. It was composed in the reign of Taningganwe Min 1714-1733. It has not hitherto been

available in print and the Research Society is performing a great service to scholarship in publishing it.

In format the book is a great improvement on the Hmannan. The editor has provided chapter headings in bold type and some marginal paragraph headings. The table of contents at the beginning of the volume gives all the chapter headings and there is a supplementary table at the end in which references are given to paragraph headings, footnotes and minor points not appearing in the first table.

The footnotes are primarily concerned with the establishment of the text, but many of them give explanations of archaic words, identifications of place-names and historical information.

Letters and despatches are printed with a wider margin than the rest of the page.

The result is that it is now possible to browse with some pleasure in the pages of Burmese history and to find with ease a wanted passage.

As regards the notes, one general criticism must be made. They are entirely in Burmese. Now clearness sometimes demands the use of Mon, Shan or Roman characters. Thus at page 5 it is stated that တံတေ့ is the Mon equivalent of *sutasoma*. If the editor had convinced himself of this it ought not to have been difficult to obtain the Mon equivalent properly spelt. In a note at page 178, dealing with various kinds of war boats တွဲ is said to be a Mon word meaning a boat with high bows and a low poop. The word is not in Halliday—at least not so spelt, though Stevenson recognizes it. In the same note တောတံတေ့ is explained as a box-shaped boat. It is not explicitly stated to be Mon though the editor must have recognized တံတေ့ as a Mon word. This name of a boat does appear in Halliday—တံတေ့တံတေ့ At page 245 is a note explaining ဝဏ္ဏဝေ as being the Portuguese Governor of Goa. This does indeed appear to be the meaning of the text but it would have cleared matters up to explain that Goa was a Portuguese settlement in the important state of Bijapur and to print Bijapur in Roman characters. The same applies to the explanation of အေတ္တရာ which is stated to be the island of Sumatra. အေတ္တရာ is apparently Achin or Atcheen the town at the north west corner of Sumatra.

Examples of useful notes are at

p. 23 where the method by which astrologers arrived at a prophecy is learnedly explained.

p. 54 where the habit of marrying a predecessor's queen is referred to—with disapproval.

pp. 82, 158, 283 and elsewhere—identification of places now known by other names.

p. 103—where two Thameinparans are distinguished.

p. 106—explanation of the saying, “A drop of honey destroys the country.” Cf. also p. 126.

p. 361—explanation of the names of various artizans ဝန်တော့၊ ဝန်တော့ etc.

Saya Pwa and the General Editor Professor Pe Maung Tin are to be congratulated on the result of their labours.

J. A. STEWART.

JOURNAL OF THE BURMA RESEARCH SOCIETY.

Vol. XXII, Part III.

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THE MON INSCRIPTIONS OF SIAM.

The Mon People.

The Mons or Talaings as the Burmese have called them form only a meagre element in the varied population of Burma today. Those still using the ancestral language and following the traditions of their fathers are found chiefly in a small area around Moulmein, mostly in the Amherst District, though they are still fairly numerous in the contiguous parts of the Thaton District. In the former district they form the most numerous racial part of the population, and it is there the language and traditions are strongest. There is no doubt that with the advance of education and the growing means of communication the Burmese language and influence are making ever heavier inroads. Still in purely Mon villages the ancestral tradition seems as strong as ever.

The Mons in the heyday of their strength must have exercised a great influence on the religion and civilization of the peoples of this country. The Burmese no doubt owe a great deal to them. We cannot otherwise read the lithic records found in the upper country. The inscriptions of Kyanzittha who reigned in Pagan at the end of the XIth century, deciphered and translated by Dr. Blagden and published in the *Epigraphia Birmanica*,¹ are in the Mon language, and the obvious reason for his preference for that literary vernacular is that it was the language of the scholars of his day. In the same publication are published the plaques from the Ananda pagoda at Pagan, the text of which was deciphered and edited by Prof. Duroiselle.² The inference from the plaques and their Mon texts is that the Mons also were the craftsmen of the kings of Pagan at that early time. We know that when Anawrata in an earlier reign sacked Thaton, he carried back to Pagan in regal state the Mon king Manuha, and with him scholars and craftsmen. A body of men skilled in letters and the crafts were thus provided for the Burmese kings to make use of. This view of the position is further strengthened by the mural paintings with Mon lettering in some of the Pagan temples discovered some years ago by my friend Prof. Luce. These things can only it seems to me be explained by the presence of these Mon scholars and craftsmen at the Burmese capital.

The discovery of Mon inscriptions in Lamphun Siam bearing dates of fully a century later than the Pagan ones, and in the same character and language, gives evidence of the influence of the Mon people in quite another direction. The finding of another Mon inscription at Lophburi Siam of perhaps the VIIIth century puts the presence of the Mons as a ruling power in the basin of the Menam some centuries earlier.

1. Volume I, Part II.

2. *Ibid.* Volume II, Parts I & II.

Prof. Coedes, formerly Chief Librarian at the National Library, Bangkok and now Director of the French School of the Far East, wrote a long article on the Religious and Political History of Western Laos,¹ in which he used these inscriptions as evidence of the presence and domination of the Mons in that country before the coming of the Siamese, and as supporting the statements of the native records to that effect. There is no doubt that he attaches great importance to these inscriptions. And it is something of their story that I want to tell you tonight.

I had long been familiar with the fact that there were numbers of Mons in Siam, whose presence there was explained by the information that two hundred years or more ago their forefathers dissatisfied with the condition of things here, had begun to seek refuge in the neighbouring country². Warlike invasions had been made by Mons into Siam, but this was a peaceful kind of invasion, and they were welcomed by the rulers of the land. Many of them rose to positions of rank and influence in the land of their adoption. These Mons have now become so rooted to the soil that whilst many of them hanker after a visit to the land of their fathers, they very seldom stay when they get over here. The great object of their pilgrimage is the Shwe Dagon Pagoda here in Rangoon. It is now nearly forty years since I met a party of four Siamese Mons at Ye in the southern part of the Amherst District, making their way to Rangoon to worship at the great shrine. I had a chat with the apparent leader of the little company, and I can well remember some of the things he told us. One thing he spoke of was the denseness of the Mon population on some of the rivers, and it was his rather unusual use of a very common word that rooted the fact in my mind. Another thing he told us was that the Mons of Siam built their houses of teakwood. Here he was comparing with the houses he had seen in the villages around Ye, where inferior woods were more often used in house building. I was able to verify both statements with reservations when I went over to Siam nearly two decades later. On the Menam above Bangkok one passes numerous Mon villages at no great distance from each other. And this was true of the Meklawng to a lesser degree. In some of these villages the number of substantial houses was remarkable, and these were almost always of teak. They had already begun to use other woods when we were over there, particularly a kind that in appearance looked much like teak. That they were by no means all of wood the following experience will show. We were staying at a village on the Meklawng where we often stayed and where I managed to get a lot of help in my Mon studies. Some one came to call my wife to see a woman who was ill. The instructions we got for finding the house were to go on until we saw a wooden house. I thought it was rather a vague direction, for I had thought that the houses were all

1. *Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient*, tome XXV, 1925.

2. *Journal Siam Society*, Vol. X, Part 3, 1913.

more or less of wood. It, however, proved to be the right description. It was the only one fully boarded. All the others had the usual walls of *dani* thatch set in a strong bamboo framework, which is very common in that neighbourhood.

One of these inscriptions, the Lophburi one, pushes Mon civilization on the Menan away back some centuries before we have any authentic record for it in Burma. Prof. Coedes in the long article I have already mentioned cites this inscription as confirming statements made in the two Pali texts he translates, concerning the Mons.¹ This is something like the story he tells: In the VIIth century of our era a princess the daughter of the king of Lavo (Lophburi) and said to be the consort of the king of the Mon country here in Burma (she may have been a widow), went north with a following and founded Haripuñjaya on the site of the modern Lamphun. Coedes gives the date as 661 A. D.² He further points out that at that time Lophburi was not a Khmer city as had hitherto been supposed but a centre of Mon civilization. And this is supported by the pillar found there with Mon inscriptions which I have already mentioned and of which I shall have something to say later. This Mon princess Camadevi was thus taking to Haripuñjaya the Mon language and civilization as well as the Buddhist religion. The people among whom she established her own following were a kind of ruder kinsmen of theirs. They were the Lawa, a people speaking a language of the MonKhmer family³. Coedès goes on to tell of an epidemic of cholera taking place in Haripuñjaya later, in the middle of XIth century to be exact, of a consequent exodus to Sudhammapura or Thaton, and of their expulsion from Thaton by the King of Pagan, after which they proceeded to Hamsavati or Pegu, where they settled until conditions amended in Haripuñjaya⁴. The most interesting thing stated in the Pali text is that these Mons from Lamphun were here among a people whose language was the same as theirs without showing the least difference. The incident related here to some extent tallies with an account in the Mon and the Burmese chronicles of an invasion to which another complexion is given, and on which my friend G. H. Luce published a note in the Burma Research Society's Journal some years ago, and headed "A Cambodian Invasion of Lower Burma".⁵ Cambodian, in Mon Krom and in Burmese Gywam, seems to have been loosely used of peoples from beyond the eastern frontier. The two accounts are perhaps mutually explanatory. In the Burma account it is a fanciful display of horsemanship and swordsmanship that is prominent. In the Siam account the refugees are said to have been driven away from Thaton to take temporary refuge in Pegu. If the exodus from Haripuñjaya took place while Anawrata was conducting military operations in the

1. BEFEO, t. XXV. 1925 p. 16 f.

2. *Ibid.* p. 19.

3. *Journal Siam Society*, Vols. XII 3, XIII 3, XIV, 1.

4. BEFEO., t. XXV, 1925 p. 17.

5. Vol. XII, p. 39.

Mon country the statement that the refugees were driven away from Thaton is easy to understand. It is not so easy to account for the statement of the Mon chronicle that the King of Pagan was called in to help drive out an enemy. What we are getting at however, is that the statement of these Laos chronicles that Mon was the official language of Haripuñjaya is borne out by the inscription.

Finding the Mon Inscriptions.

My first acquaintance with the Mon inscriptions of Siam was made soon after I went over to that country now more than twenty years ago. I had then been coming into contact with the Mon people and their language for over seventeen years. I had also made some acquaintance with the literature. I had already had years of correspondence with Dr. Blagden on matters affecting the Mon tongue. I had helped him in his study of the Mon Rajawān of Sayadaw Athwa mentioned by Phayre in the preface to his History of Burma. That study I suppose helped to lay the foundation of the knowledge of Mon which Dr. Blagden has used to such advantage in the study of the Mon lithic records of this country. He had then but barely begun his work on the Pagan and other inscriptions of Burma. His papers on the Myazedi Mon Inscription had already been published in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society ¹, and he was making a beginning on the longer inscriptions of Pagan. It was in Siam I think that I received his first rough drafts of the long inscriptions of Kyauzitha. It was there at any rate that I began my own particular researches that fitted me to deal with the Siam Mon inscriptions when they came, and in the meantime enabled me to give to Dr. Blagden the help he asked of me.

It was he who was the means of introducing me to Dr. Frankfurter, who was then Chief Librarian of the National Library in Bangkok, that is, it was Dr. Blagden who allowed me to use his name in introducing myself to this prominent Oriental scholar. Dr. Frankfurter in turn introduced me or was the means of having me introduced to native Mon scholars. One of his assistants was a Mon, and I also made the acquaintance of a Mon monk, who was very helpful, through him. I went very freely among the Mon monks of Siam during my residence in that country.

Dr. Frankfurter gave me some Mon rubbings only one of which was legible, and it had been written over in pencil at places in a desire to help. This was a mistake as it rather detracted from its worth, since one could not well tell whether he was getting the true impression or not. The others were ink impressions on ordinary paper, and were quite worthless. Still it showed that there were Mon lithic records in Siam which might be of value. It was not till some years later and after Prof. Coedès had succeeded Dr. Frankfurter as Chief Librarian

1. 1909 pp. 1017-52, 1910 pp. 799-812.

THE MON INSCRIPTIONS OF SIAM.

at the National Library that I got a rubbing that was worth while. For this a sufficient thickness of paper of the right kind had been used, and it had been well squeezed into the stone, but it had not been inked, and often the only way to read the text was to turn the reverse side and read the impression there. This made reading more difficult, though it made it quite accurate, as one had the real impression from the stone. This was one of the Sabbadhisiddhi records and was legible right through.

Later Prof. Coedès himself made a tour in Northern Siam, and brought back a number of rubbings from Lamphun, the Haripunjaya of the Mon kingdom of those early days. On a visit to the Library these rubbings were shown to me, and I could see they were likely to be of historical value. It was after I had returned to Burma and Prof. Coedes was projecting his long paper on The Political and Religious History of Western Laos that he sent me photos of two faces of one stone. I read those for him, and it was my readings of these together with the two I had already read and translated that he used in his paper. There were of course some obscurities both of reading and of interpretation, and Prof. Coedès had corresponded with Dr. Blagden about certain words.

After Dr. Blagden had made an agreement with the Government of Burma for the publication of the Mon inscriptions of this country, it was decided that they should be published in the new *Epigraphia Birmanica*, and by and by the Pagan inscriptions began to appear in that publication.¹ Prof. Coedes had begun work on Siamese inscriptions, and had told me he wanted also the Mon Inscriptions, and he was projecting a similar publication for Siam, a kind of *Epigraphia Siamensis* in fact. When he did begin to publish, the publication was called in Siamese Collection of Siam Inscriptions.² The first part contained Inscriptions of Sukhodaya, beginning with that of Rama Kamheng,³ but there was a list of the Inscriptions found in Siam given with name of language and place and other particulars, and among these were the various Mon ones.⁴ With the exception of two of a single line each I had all these in my possession. I had deciphered and translated the six Lamphun ones, and had worked over the Lophburi pillar collection with Dr. Blagden. These are the Mon Inscriptions of Siam of which I want to give some account now.

The Lophburi Inscription.

This is the earliest Mon Inscription so far discovered. Long after it was known that there were Mon inscriptions at Lamphun, and I had

1. Vol. I.

2. *Recueil des Inscriptions du Siam* I.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 37-48.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 13-36.

been given rubbings of some to read and interpret, this Lophburi pillar was being preserved in the National Library at Bangkok with its inscription described as in an unknown language. It was not until Prof. G. Coedes had come to the Library as its Chief Librarian that anything was made of it. A skilled palaeographer himself he noticed in looking over it some Mon words. He had an estampage made of it and sent it over here to Prof. Duroiselle who described it as a Mon record in the Report of the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Burma, for 1919.¹ It was hailed there as the earliest Mon lithic inscription and was said to confirm a statement of Dr. Forchhammer on the antiquity of Mon records without sufficient evidence as it was thought. The octagonal pillar on which this record is inscribed was found in the ruins of a monument called San Sung at Lophburi. It was placed in the museum at Ayudhya for some time and finally was deposited in the National Library at Bangkok. It consists of four separate short texts which put on record certain gifts made to a memorial of the Buddha, probably a pagoda for which an endowment was being provided. There are gifts of robes, slaves, cattle, carts, but no gift of land is apparent. In the Lamphun inscriptions as well as in the Pagan inscriptions of Burma we read of lands and even whole villages being dedicated to a pagoda, as is the case in the Myazedi Inscription of Pagan.

The importance of the Lophburi Inscription lies not so much in what it records, as in the fact that it shows, or at least supports the conviction, that Mon was the language used officially in that part of Siam away back in those early centuries of the Christian era. The terms used for the offerings already enumerated are the old representatives of words in common use to-day. Their form is that of the same words occurring in the Pagan inscriptions, though the character in which they are written is that of an earlier period. The words for *cloth*, *slave*, *yoke*, *oxen*, and *cart* are the words used by Mons to-day, both in Burma and in Siam. Words for *this*, *also*, *one*, *buy*, *make*, *name*, and the pronoun of the third person correspond to the words found in the language spoken by the Mons of the present day. Thus these Mon folk of that far away time and of another land were calling plain ordinary things by the same names as the Mons are still calling them.

It is of interest in this connection to note that the short Pali inscriptions found at the great Phraphatom Pagoda, Nagor Phatom, Siam, and published in the second volume of the Collection of Siam Inscriptions² already referred to, are in a character more akin to that of the Mon used in Burma than that of Cambodia or Siam. Again the presence of these Pali inscriptions supports the view that Buddhism was prevalent there as in Lophburi in those early days. The pillars and figures found at Nagor Pathom identical with those found at Lophburi further confirm

1. Pp. 2, 18.

2. *Recueil des Inscriptions du Siam*, II

this conviction that Buddhism was the religion of the people, and again shows a community with the same religion and civilization as the peoples of Lophburi and Lamphun. It may be that future researches will yet reveal a community of interests between Lophburi and all that region of the western part of the lower Menam basin.¹

The Lamphun Inscriptions.

When we come to the Lamphun inscriptions we are on surer ground we might say. The character in which these are written is the same as that of the Pagan inscriptions of Kyanzittha. The language shows development toward the modern form of words. A hundred years or more had elapsed, and it is not surprising that some differences are found. When we come to examine the vocabulary we find quite a number of words not found in the Pagan records. These may be accounted for in various ways. There may have been local expressions which differed; there may have been foreign words sometimes borrowed from neighbouring peoples; and it may have happened at times that these make mentions of things which find no occurrence in the Pagan records. It is interesting to note some of the changes in spelling which show the general trend of things. In the Mon of the XIth century dissyllabic words are found where in the modern language we find monosyllables, or words with only a very short vowel between the two initial consonants. The tendency has been to put the two initial consonants together, and if they could be sounded as a compound making a single syllable that was done; if not a short indeterminate vowel sound was introduced. Thus *tirla* of the Pagan inscriptions showing signs of change to *tarla* becomes *trala* in the Lamphun inscriptions, and the modern form is *tala* often written *tla*. Pagan *pumrey* changes to *pamrey* in Lamphun, and the modern form is *proa*.

A peculiarity in the Lamphun spelling is the way in which final consonants are sometimes indicated by the doubling of the letter. Thus *eyy*, *deyy*, for *ey*, *dey* with a mark over the *y* taking the place of the Burmese *that*. Both forms are used. This way of doubling the consonants to indicate a final is not found in the Mon inscriptions of Burma. We therefore come to the conclusion that it was borrowed from the neighbouring peoples. This method of indicating the finals is found also in the early Thai inscriptions of Sukhodaya, and the same free use is made of both methods. This would seem to imply intercommunication between scholars of neighbouring states.

It is to be regretted that so many words have been found impossible of definition. It is not only that these inscriptions present new words not found elsewhere, but the difficulty is increased by the

1. See *BEFEO.*, t. XXV, 1925, p. 17 note (1).

fragmentary state in which some of the records are found. It is to be remembered, however, that even in Mon books of a much later period there are still words to be met with whose meaning we cannot determine. When I was in Siam and was met with difficulties, I used to call on monks at the monasteries, but very often all I could get was a shake of the head, and I had to go home and pursue my own researches.

Speaking generally of the study of Mon records lithic and otherwise, the translation of Pali works into Mon has often been of great help in arriving at a definition of words and fixing their meaning. In this connection the Pali-Mon Dictionary published at Paklat near Bangkok some twenty years ago proved of great service. The pity was that its vocabulary was so limited. As it was it helped a good deal. Another thing that has helped in the definition of Mon words is the recurrence of words in different connections. It has thus been possible not only to define the general meaning of words, but also to determine different shades of meaning. It is here where the Lamphun records often fail us. They are sometimes so fragmentary, and in some records the unknown words are isolated without their context on account of the wearing of the stone. If as Mr. Coedes thinks excavation on the sites would bring more inscriptions to light, it is a great pity that something of the kind cannot be done. Here too in Burma it seems reasonable to think that inscriptions may yet be found by diligent search, which would throw light on the history of the Mon people in this land. Nothing yet has been found in this country going back as far as the Lophburi inscriptions.

Seven Mon inscriptions have been found at Lamphun. One apparently is illegible, but the remaining six have been published in the bulletin of the French School of the Far East. (*Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient*), usually shortened to BEFEO.¹ of the six published the most important are the two bearing the name of Sabbadhisiddhi, one of the Kings of Haripunjaya, and giving dates in his reign. It is unfortunate that in these dates the actual year is not given, but only the name in the twelve year cycle, with particulars of day, month and lagna. These can be interpreted with a certain amount of accuracy, and this seems to have been the way of recording dates in the country. It is still the custom in Siam for a person giving the year of his birth to simply name the year in the twelve year cycle. You get the exact year by guessing at his probable age. A Mon in Burma on the other hand gives his sakkarat year.

The various inscriptions are named from the monastery where each was originally found. The Wat Don Inscription is the only one of which it has been possible to give an almost perfect transcription. Many an hour was spent from time to time puzzling over some of the forms, but

1. t. XXX, 1930, pp. 81-105.

once one had got the drift of the thing it was possible to set down with some accuracy what seemed at first doubtful. The result of all the various revisions and consultations is as I have said an almost perfect text. Only those who have undertaken the reading of records on more or less worn stone in an old script know what time and pains go to the making of a satisfactory transcription. With the exception of what appear to be titles, names and descriptions of pieces of land there is no real difficulty raised in the interpretation of this record.

This ruler, Sabbadhisiddhi by name, who according to the dates given and the development of the language, and the character in which the record is written, lived about midway between Kyanzittha of Pagan and Mangrai the founder of Chiangmai who ultimately conquered Lamphun and brought in the domination of the Thai, seems to have been of a pious turn of mind. He came to the throne apparently as a young lad and was still in his young manhood. He tells of building a monastery with the name of Jetavana famous in Buddhist story and a preaching hall, when he had completed twenty-six years of his young life, and of building a religious house at the age of thirty-one. "By the influence of this my deed of gift to the three gems, may all creatures be freed from suffering, and attain happiness". Thus he utters a prayer for the welfare of his people. Then he speaks of the lands and the slaves male and female which he gives in endowment of the foundation. On the reverse side of the stone he speaks of three pagodas which he and members of his family had built, and endowed by giving lands, slaves and cattle. Then he speaks of going out to a retreat in the Jetavana sanctuary at the age of thirty-two, and it is here the second date is given.

The gains from this record include a more or less definite dating for this prince's reign, and a confirmation of what is written in certain Laotian chronicles concerning the colonization by Mons of this part of the Menam basin, and the consequent introduction of Buddhism. The facts need to be synchronized and collated with the chronicles, and this has been so far done by G. Coedes whom I have already mentioned. Some of the words used give us something to think about. The word for 'gift' formed from the verb 'to give' has no representative in the modern language. A gift in the religious sense is now expressed by the Pali *dana*, in the form *tan*, and even the polite way to ask for anything is to use the same expression as for giving in the religious sense, that is you ask for *tan*. The land measure in use here and in the other inscriptions is now used only in the expression signifying the ridges in the paddy field. The word I have translated "to go into a retreat" was taken by Prof. Dutoiselle to be the origin of the word now in use for a monk as one who leaves the world. I am inclined to agree with him, but Dr. Blagden, the leading scholar in ancient Mon thinks the derivation is not warranted.

The longer Wat Kukut record also bears the name of Sabbadhisiddhi as its author. It also bears a date. The stone is apparently broken into four pieces which have been brought together to obtain the rubbings. But for this break in the stone the record would have been in a fair state of preservation. Photographs of the rubbing were sent over to me here after I had left Siam. It was then that Prof. Coedes was projecting his long paper on Documents concerning the Political and Religious History of Western Laos, subsequently published in the Bulletin of the French School of the Far East. Later ink-impressions were sent to London, and with their aid and the help given by Dr. Blagden, substantial improvements were made in the text and consequently in the translation. I mention these things to indicate the effort that was made to get the most out of the texts before publishing them finally.

In this record Sabbadhisiddhi tells of the restoration and the endowment of a pagoda built by a predecessor evidently. It is unfortunate that the stone is damaged and broken just where he was telling the relationship to himself and the name of the builder. There is enough to show that he was giving this information. A severe earthquake had laid the pagoda in ruins, and he gives the date when he made the restoration. He says it was adorned with gold, and there was not its like in the land. Again there is a reference to his devotion to the religion, and he expresses a desire that all may be benefitted. "I worship it (the pagoda) at all times in its glory. By my worshipping this lordly gem of a pagoda may all dangers of divers kinds vanish away! May the exalted blessing bless all creatures at all times!" So he prays and then he enumerates the material gifts he had bestowed on the foundation—gold, silver, copper, lands, slaves, paddy and apparently two very valuable diamonds. From the quantity of precious metals, the number of pieces of land and the number of slaves to work them one gathers that this was a great and quite a venerable structure.

From the philological standpoint we get at least two finds herel the old form for the numeral nine, and the Mon original for the tica, weight and consequently the word for the standard coin in use, *e. g.*, the rupee in Burma, and the tical in Siam. Both words show the tendency of the language to convert dissyllabic words into monosyllables or as nearly so as possible. These two originally dissyllabic words become in the modern language almost monosyllables. Thus *dincit*, 'nine' is now *decit*, the initial 'd' being only slightly vocalized. So with *dinkel*, 'tical' as in Siam, now *dekew*. In both cases the initial *din-din* becomes *de* with just enough vowel sound to make the initial dental vocal. In the case of the second word the final 'l' becomes 'w' and is silent in accordance with a general rule. It affects the vowel sound sometimes, but not always. It is to be noticed here as in the Lophburi inscription how words for the commonest things have suffered no change. The word for paddy or unhusked rice is written as Mons write it today, 'sro'. The words

for 'slave' or 'servant', 'land' and the pronoun 'he' are written still in the old form.

The Wat Sen Khao Ho Inscription is a short one of fourteen lines only. It is fairly well preserved. On the two upper corners the stone has broken or flaked off, and there are consequent omissions and difficulty of reading. With these few exceptions the text is plain enough. It is in the interpretation the difficulty comes. For so short a record it has an unusually large proportion of unknown words. It is to be regretted that added to the difficulty of decipherment, there are still several words the identity and meaning of which have not been established. It is apparently the work of an ecclesiastic, and records the building of a preaching hall, and the planting of Bo trees; the setting up of Buddha statues and the planting of cocoanut trees. With the assistance of the ruler of the state he also excavated a cave, and put in such objects as an ornamented umbrella, a section of the *paritta*, and a basket. He also deposited a scripture in the cave. He gave land and a pair of oxen and dedicated the cave.

The smaller Wat Kukut Inscription is somewhat fragmentary. The stone seems much weather worn, especially down the middle, and chipped a good deal. It looked hopeless at first, but by dint of perseverance, it was made to tell its story up to a point. I must here confess that left alone I should not have gone far with it, but Dr. Blagden with his great experience in deciphering the Mon inscriptions of Burma came to my aid, and made me feel we had something to show for our labours after all. It was a great advantage in this case to have this and the other rubbings sent to London. I was on leave at the time and also had an opportunity of examining them carefully. Hitherto I had only had the photographs. As far as we can make out the ruler of the state had caused something to be made, probably a statue, and taken to the scholars of the sangha. An invitation was given to come to the hall of audience, and apparently the ruler could be approached at any time. A list of lands attached to a certain pagoda is given. The record breaks off abruptly in the middle of a word.

The Wat Mahawan Inscription is on three faces, the front and the two narrow sides apparently. Looking at the broad face all four corners are worn off, the top left hand corner less than the others. On the second line at the end only a letter or so is missing. On all the other corners several letters are missing on a number of lines. Quite apart from this a great many of the letters are so faintly traceable that it is impossible to read anything from them. It is a great pity so much of the record is lost by weathering of the stone, as from what is left of it one judges it might have been quite important. It begins "This is a true record of the works I", but the name and rank or title of the author are lost. There may have been a date, but that too is lost to us. There were offerings of the precious metals made, and the weight,

probably of gold, is stated. Silver is mentioned, but the exact weight is not clear. This may have been by way of preparation for the more important work or works. Then the making of a pagoda with a vault is mentioned, after which there is an enumeration of precious and useful metals with the weight of each. Thus gold, silver, copper and bronze are named. Other things too are mentioned in terms of weight, but we have not found their meaning. Lands also are named, and at least one slave is mentioned. It is to be conjectured that the object of the inscription was to put on record some foundation, showing its endowments. The two narrow faces have what looks like lists of names only.

There remains only the Wat Ban Hlui Inscription. This is a very unsatisfactory record. It is on two faces which have been named A and B. On face A only words and phrases here and there are decipherable at all. Face B at first looks better, and certainly more of it is decipherable, but there are so many words which in their present form are undefinable, that one is completely at a loss to make a complete narrative of the events recorded. It is plain that the object of the inscription was to put on record works done, and donations made to religious foundations. The name Jetavana occurs on both faces on one quite plainly, and on the other with sufficient traces to make the restoration possible. This name is also found in one of the other inscriptions, Wat Don, and is presumably here as there the name of a well known monastery of Haripunjaya. On face A apparently a list of gifts to the monastery is recorded, but unfortunately the names of objects are lost or are not definable. On face B a pagoda and vault are mentioned, and the gifts enumerated there are evidently in connection with these. Here again some of the names are undecipherable, and some of those deciphered are yet undefined.

You may ask me, what are the gains from the study of these old records? What is the compensation for all the time and energy spent on seeking to understand them? To those of us who are interested in the study of the Mon Language, there is the satisfaction of getting to know all we possibly can of it. There is a certain amount of interest in puzzling out things, and there is the joy of arriving at a solution of some hitherto puzzling problem. That there is gain to historical research both in this country and in Siam has already been shown. We see how the Mons whom hitherto we had associated with this land only, were a civilizing force in the Menam valley away back before authentic history begins in that region, and it is the inscriptions which make all this real. We see how Buddhism must have won its way among them away back in those early years. You cannot prove that from mere legend, but here is the proof in full. The theory that the Mons like the Burmese and the Siamese came down from the north is held by some scholars. The Mons have no traditions which point that way as far as I know. Here we find them going up the Menam rather than coming down. Civilization and religion came from India by way of the sea, and must

have come to places on the coast first and naturally had to go up river to find the inland populations. That of course has nothing to do with the origin of the peoples. We have hard facts for the progress of religion and civilization ; the proof for a northern origin for the Mons is another question.

Philologically these inscriptions are of importance in showing the way in which the language has developed. The Lamphun ones form an important link between the Mon of the Pagan inscriptions of Burma and that of the later ones of Pegu. Without them we have no evidence of how some of the changes took place. The Lophburi Inscription shows the language as it was centuries before Anorata sacked Thaton and carried its scholars to Upper Burma.

Added to all this there is the knowledge we gain of an old time people, and all of us whether indigenous to the country or only resident in it should have a real interest in all that pertains to the Mons as a people who profoundly influenced Burma.

R. HALLIDAY.

BURMA'S DEBT TO PAGAN*.

The Burmans, I imagine, came down from the hills of the Northern Shan States into the plains of Burma from 832 A.D.¹ onwards. They settled first in Kyaukse district²—"the 11 villages of Myittha" (*Mlacsā chay-ta-kharuīn*), where they increased and multiplied. Some of them gradually spread westwards to the Irrawaddy and founded Pagan. In the south they got as far as the rich land of Calaṅ, Laṅkuīn and Mapaṅcara—"the 6 Khayaing" (*khrok kharuīn*).³ Northwards they had another *kharuīn* at Toiplun in Mandalay district, and slowly pressed north-west and occupied the Mū valley. Wherever they went (except Pagan itself), they chose well-watered spots, and started or developed wet-rice cultivation (*lay*), and sometimes even irrigation—canals (*mron*) and dams (*chañ*). Dr. Blagden, in comparing *taung-ya* cultivation of rice with rice-planting in irrigable swamp-land, wisely notes that the latter, "in South East Asia, is the Rubicon which a barbarous tribe must cross before it can fulfil the conditions precedent to real civilisation, first in the material sense of the word, and ultimately in its social, moral, intellectual, and other connotations."⁴ Now the Burmans, in or about the tenth century A.D., quite definitely crossed this Rubicon, and proceeded in consequence, and very rapidly, to build up a civilisation of their own. That is Burma's first debt to Pagan; and also, no doubt, Pagan's first debt to Burma.

Anyone who has visited Pagan, or has even seen from an Irrawaddy Flotilla steamer its forest of temples and pagodas pointing upwards along the riverbank, will be able to tell me what is Burma's next debt to Pagan. It is the Buddhist religion. I do not mean to imply that there was no Buddhism in Burma, or for that matter no wet-rice-cultivation, before the Pagan period; nor would I even follow the Burmese Chronicles in asserting that the Buddhism which Anoratha and Shin Araham brought back from the conquest of Thaton, was pure Hinayāna Buddhism. It

* A paper read at Judson College, Rangoon University, on Aug. 4, 1932.

1. This date is given in Chinese histories (*Hsin t'ang shu* ch. 222C, f. 17 v^o; *Man shu* f. 44r^o) for the fall of the P'iao kingdom or capital at the hands of "southern barbarian rebels."

2. Arguments for this theory and for the statements following have been given in a paper entitled "The Geography of Burma under the Pagan Dynasty," which was read at a meeting of the Society held on 27th August 1931. It is hoped to publish this paper later in the Journal.

3. At first I took *Khrok* to be a proper name; but Mr. B. W. Swithinbank I.C.S. has suggested to me that it may mean simply the "six *kharuīn*". I now think this probable enough, in spite of the fact that among the places mentioned in this region—west of the Irrawaddy, Minbu District—I have found so far only two places, Mapaṅcara and Laṅkuīn (Laykuīn, Laikuīn), designated *kharuīn* in the Pagan inscriptions. For the identification of Mapaṅcara (which I had previously thought to be in Kyaukse district) I am greatly indebted to Mr. F. Pemberton, Executive Engineer Mon Canals Division, who has supplied me with a report on the legendary history of Minbu district compiled by U Ba Shin, Senior Accounts Clerk in his office. This is all the more useful in that there is no "A" volume of Minbu District Gazetteer published as yet.

4. *Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula*, Vol. II, p. 451,

was nothing of the kind. It was mixed up with Hindu Brahmanic cults, Vaiṣṇavism in particular. It was tinged with Mahāyānism, and towards the end of the dynasty at least with Tāntrism¹. It rested doubtless on a deep primitive bed of Nāga and Nat worship. The Buddhism itself was extraordinarily anthropomorphic. The Buddha (*purhā*) was enshrined (*thāmanā*) in his *kū* or cave-pagoda, much as a king might be inducted to his palace. He was a super-royal personage, and must have all the proper appurtenances of royalty²—a throne (*panlan*), a couch (*salawun*), a cushion to sit on (*cammakhan*), or to rest his elbow on (*laktan*), coverlets and pillow (*khan n̄h̄ ūn*), a canopy (*pitān*) and umbrella (*thi*) above him; there he sat and “practised piety” (*satan kyan' e'*). Food and rice-alms (*samput*, *chwan*) were regularly supplied him; kettles (*karā*) and cooking pots (*calon*) to cook it in, trays (*lanpan*) and covered dishes (*khwak*, *khwak up*) to serve it up, a table (*pway*), a bowl (*santiy*) to wash his hands in, betel (*kwan pan*) to complete the repast, and of course a spittoon (*pratuw*). A whole band of musicians, too numerous to mention in detail—drummers, trumpeters, xylophone players, acrobats male and female—were in constant attendance. At night oil lamps (*chamtuin*) and chandeliers (*tanchon*) were not forgotten. Banners and streamers (*tamkhwan kukā*), palanquins and litters (*sanlyan*, *thamcan*), robes, slaves, lands and all manner of livestock were likewise provided.

Yet it would be a gross mistake to imagine that such an anthropomorphism was incompatible with deep and true religious feeling. I know of no place in the world where religion—even to me, an alien—makes a deeper appeal than at Pagan. The Burman, in contrast with the Talaing of those days, was an unromantic matter-of-fact person. He wrote in prose and not in poetry. He described simply, without exaggeration—very differently from Burmans of later days. The dim religious light, dark corridors and rich lurid colouring which the Mons liked in their temples, he disliked³. And when he borrowed their style of architecture he soon knocked out big open doorways on all sides of their murky bat-ridden temples, and let in

1. See, *e.g.*, the useful volume of Nihar-Ranjan Ray, *Brahmanical Gods in Burma* (publ. by Calcutta University, 1932), and the same writer's “Note on Bodhisattwa Lokanātha and other Mahāyāna Gods in Burma” in *Buddhist Studies* edited by Dr. B.C. Law (Calcutta 1931).

2. I do not cite references for the details that follow, in view of the fact that my pupil, Daw Mya Mu, is preparing a full account of all these objects of Pagan dedication, to be published later, it is hoped, in the Journal.

3. Contrast, *e.g.*, the Patothamya, Nagayon, Abeyadana, Kubyaukkyi of Myinpagan, Nanpaya etc. with the typical Burmese temples such as the Shwegugyi of Pagan or the Thambula and Lemyethna, Minnanthu. Temples of the former type are regularly found to contain Mon writing, if any, and their style of fresco, as well as their common plan and perforated windows, readily distinguish them from the later Burmese type. The Ananda and Dhammayangyi are intermediate forms. The Shwegugyi (1131 A.D.) and Thatbyinnyu are perhaps the earliest specimens of the Burmese type proper, which culminates later in the Sulamani (1183 A.D.), Tilominlo and Gawdawpalin.

the sunlight; and his taste in colour and design was far brighter and lighter than theirs. All this gives one confidence in what he tell one about his religion. Crude it may be, but its sincerity is beyond question. Most of you probably know the fine Pali prayer of Alaungsithu, an extract of which is quoted in Mr. Harvey's *History of Burma* ¹. Let me quote a passage from the Burmese *Āmanā* inscription ², written by a palace-lady in 1266 A.D., at the frivolous court of Narasiḥapati :—

“ I wish to abandon a body oppressed by countless miseries—the misery of birth, old age and death, the misery of separation from those we love, and of living with those we do not love, the misery of wanting a thing and not getting it. I long to reach the bliss of Nirvāṇa. So I have resigned my dear and precious gold, silver and other treasures, and built a monastery; and I have offered all my fields, gardens and slaves, excepting none, for the happiness of the monks, pupils of the Lord, who dwell therein, pure in piety, and ever seeking the three graces of sainthood, fixity and wisdom. May the merit of my deed go also to the king, ruler of us all and lord of land and water. By virtue of my work may he live long, seeking the welfare and happiness of all who live in the realm, and upholding this foundation. May the queens also, and all the ladies-in-waiting share it. May they look at one another with eyes of love, without one speck of anger or cloying.... May those who desire wordly prosperity, get it. May those who prefer to do good deeds, do them. For myself, I pray that I may never be covetous, insatiate, wrathful, bullying, ignorant, dull, disagreeable, mean, unfaithful, frivolous, nor inconsiderate. But I would cross Samsara full of these good graces—modest in my wants, easily satisfied, mild of temper, pitiful, wise, conscious of causes, generous, largehanded, faithful, earnest, unforgetful and affectionate; and may I win deliverance in the very presence of the Lord Mittaryā ! ”

Most of the remaining debts to Pagan arise out of these two. The material wealth provided by the rice fields, the spiritual banking system provided by Pagan Buddhism,—these two, added to the tremendous stimulus of Indian civilization, naturally led to a golden age of Architecture. I wonder how many of my audience have *not* been to Pagan, and whether they realise how much they lose by not going there. I have

1. pp. 47-48. The full text and translation is given in Vol. X, 1920, of the Journal, pp. 67-74, “ The Shwegugyi Pagoda Inscription, Pagan, 1141 A.D.” The date, however, as Prof Pe Maung Tin has pointed out at a recent meeting of the Society, should be 1131, not 1141 A.D.

2. List 311; *P.P.A* 266; *Selections from the Inscriptions of Pagan*, No. 38, p. 93. Incidentally it may be mentioned that this inscription, in its list of land-dedications, contains a series of interesting place-names which probably belong to Lower Burma. They occur in the following order :—Pusim (= Bassein), Prañ (= Prome), Tarakañ Puṣm, Tayoñ, Cakata, Pakacanwak, Tyantañlu, Ussī, Payku (= Pegu) etc.

no time this morning to describe Pagan architecture, though I should be very happy to advise any one of you who may think of going there next October. But believe me, one minute there is worth an hour of description here. The last time I visited the Thatpyinnyu, I watched an old Burmese lady express her approval of the temple. Of course all good Buddhists feel "complacency" (*kraññuīw sañ*) at the sight of works of merit. "Complacency" would not be the word on this occasion: she went into what I can only describe as a *fit* of "anumodana". She laughed and cried and rolled on the ground and with eyes streaming with tears she sang and screamed her "Thadhu! Thadhu! Thadhu!" I felt almost like it myself.

"Dull would he be of soul who could pass by
A sight so touching in its majesty."

Burma has had some good artists since the Pagan dynasty; the wood-carving and metal work of a hundred years ago are often very fine indeed. But it has never had such architects, nor marshalled such a wide range of artistic skill and technical ability, as are still visible in Pagan. The Shan Period killed the architectural ability at all events. Technically, the architecture of the later capitals is childish in comparison.¹ Artistically too, it is usually inferior. Everyone, whether Burman or non-Burman, who wishes to know what heights the Burman can attain to, must certainly visit Pagan.

Even here, however, a study of the inscriptions will help greatly to an understanding of the architecture. A Pagan dedication did not consist merely of building a big pagoda. The following literal translation of an inscription² will shew what a variety of works were actually involved. Most of these can be discovered on the spot if we look carefully enough.

"At the side of this tank called Āmanā, I planted a monastery-enclosure with abundance of toddypalms. I then enclosed it in two lines of walls, and within the walls upon a fine platform, like in shape to a *kalasā* pot,³ I built a hollow pagoda (*kū*). At the time of the enshrinement,) I placed relics of the holy Body within a casket of sandalwood (*tancikū*),⁴

1. In particular, the Burmans lost the art of making the radiating arch. This chiefly explains why buildings only a century old, at Ava, Amarapura, Mandalay etc. are already much more ruined than the Pagan temples, built mostly before 1300 A.D.

2. List 190; *P.P.A.* 224; *Sel. Inscr. Pag.* No. 19, p. 35. The inscription, clearly legible and dated 1223 A.D., is *in situ* at the Lemyethna, Minnanthu (east face of the big pillar to the south)

3. See p. 95 of the last number for Daw Mya Mu's note on the *kalasā* pot.

4. Mr. Htin Si, in a recent paper read at a meeting of the Society, has proved that the *tancikū* of the Pagan inscriptions is the modern Burmese ဓနု: *candagū*³—sandalwood. The presumed connection of these forms with each other, and with Pali *candana*, still awaits explanation. The word *tancikū* occurs elsewhere at List 241 10 and Lemyethna Minnanthu Stone IV E12.

within a casket of crystal (*phan*),¹ within a casket of red sandalwood, within one of gold, within one of silver, within one gilded and studded with gems, within one of ivory, within one of red copper, within a stone pagoda (*puthuiw*).² Moreover I offered reverently and set therein cushions (*camakhan*) of gold, cushions of silver, parched rice (*pok* 2) of gold, parched rice of silver, chandeliers (*tanchon*) of gold, chandeliers of silver. As for the stone pagoda, it was painted and criss-crossed (*khak*) with copper wire. The spire (*athwat*) was made of gold. Above the spire I set up a gold umbrella (*thi*), hung with pearls and corals (*pulay santa*). Below the spire I wrapped seven folds of cloth (*puchuiw*); and on the cloth was stamped gold *kyaktañuiy*.³ There was a gold Buddha cast of 30 ticals of gold, a silver Buddha cast of 50 ticals of silver, a Buddha made of marble and painted with liquid gold. Over these also I spread gold and silver umbrellas. All these things I made elaborately and enshrined.

“Inside the hollow pagoda I made a four-faced image (*chanpu*)⁴ of the Lord Buddha, and made it shine magnificently with gems. Within the walls also, I made a number of images of the Lord. The 500 Jātakas also were finely painted. As ornament of the spire of the hollow pagoda I cut off and weighed into the hands of the coppersmith (*pan.hyan*) 47 viss, 8 buih, 4 ticals of copper; 7 viss 9 ticals was lost in the cutting; and the net amount of copper left was 40 viss, 7 buih, 5 ticals. The amount of sterling gold (*rhuy sā*) included was 39½ ticals, and of liquid quicksilver 159 ticals. With all these precious things I caused the spire of the hollow pagoda to shine.

1. *phan* (=crystal, glass) is probably derived from Pali *phalika*, Sanskrit *sphaṭika*. I have only noted two other mentions in Old Burmese: (i) in l. 5 of the inscription outside Mg. Yon Ku No. 11 near Minnanthu — “a hollow pagoda like crystal in form and beauty”; and (ii) Lemyethna Minnanthu Stone IV E11 — “a Buddha made of crystal, a Buddha made of ivory bezoar (*chançway am.ruti*), and a Buddha made of sandalwood (*tancikā*).”

2. If Old Burmese *purhā*, *phurhā*, are to be derived from Sanskrit or Pali *vara* (see *Epigraphia Birmanica* Vol. I, Part I, p. 26), it would seem possible to connect *puthuiw* with Pali *vatthu*, from which the commonest words for “pagoda” in Siamese, Cambodian etc. are derived. Could *ṣṣṣ* also be an old corruption of the same word, possibly shewing Pyu influence (for Chinese texts shew us that Pyu had a tendency to nasalise labials)? In Burmese *puthuiw* is a term generally confined to the solid type of pagoda; but the Pathothamya at Pagan is a hollow pagoda (*kū*).

3. The first syllable, at least, of this word is presumably Mon (cf. Old Burm. *kyaksariy*, Old Mon *kyāk srī*). It occurs elsewhere at List 184⁴⁰ (S.I.P. p. 34 — *kloñ kyaktañuiy* (*tap*) *kha phū e*”), and List 332a¹⁷ (with reference to the interior of a *kulākloñ* or brick monastery — *rhuy kyaktañuiy le tap e*”). I do not know what it means. Judson gives *ဝဇ္ဇိတဇ္ဇိ* as “a species of *Chiton*, a multivalve mollusk.”

4. *Chanpu* or *achanpu* is fairly common in Old Burmese in the sense of “image”: see List 325 8, 332a¹², 350¹⁷, 354a²², 373a 6, Lemyethna Minnanthu Stone IVE¹³, Gondusaung Saya U Pwa has shewn me the same word in verse 10 of Shin Raṭhasāra’s Tada-u Mingalazedi Mawgun. I wonder if it may be connected with “Pyu” *cha*: *bo* (Myazedi Inscr. A10).

"The Three Piṭaka, piles of the Law, I also copied. And I made a pleasant Hall of the Law (*dhammasā*), built of stone bricks, where the congregation of those who would listen to the Law might all assemble. At the place of the preaching of the Law I made a golden throne (*panlaṅ*). Above the throne I planted a gold umbrella, and above it also a canopy (*pitān*). A large and pleasant monastery, the residence of my lord the Elder, also was made, where all good people who desire Nirvāṇa, may receive instruction. Outside the inner wall in a circuit I also made a row of many monasteries, where my lords, the Ariyā, who practise piety out of their love for the religion, might abide. That my lords the Ariyā might be at ease for water, a well also was dug and built of bricks; likewise a square tank. To the east a large tank also was dug, with two levels. That the water might enter, pipes (*plwan*) and basons (*talā*) also were beautifully made. Near the water tank, all round it, a garden also was planted. Outside the monastery within a fine enclosure-wall, I made a large and pleasant tazaung (*tanchon*), magnificent with all manner of figures, where all good people coming from the four quarters might be at liberty to stay, to sleep or to stand. West of it also I made a zayat (*carap*) of solid brick, where good people wishing to give alms might give their alms. At the entering-in of the land (?) also I made a godown (*kappiyakutiy*), built solidly of brick, for the comfort of the Lord, the Law and the Order which are in this my monastery; and I have left there also many attendants (*alup aklwaṇ*). A well also was dug, and solidly built of brick, so that all who come from the four quarters may have what water they require.

"My wife and I have made many arrangements (*aci aryāṇ*) so that all these works of merit done by us may last throughout the five thousand years of the religion. In order that in our stead the work and the repairs to all these our works of merit may be continually done, that the area may be swept, and the regular offering of food, oil-lights and betelnuts be made without fail to the Lord and the Law, and the rice-alms offered to the patient lords, the Ariyā, we dedicate the following slaves....."

Then again, take literature. I have said already that the Burman of Pagan was a prose-writer, and not a poet. At any rate no samples of his poetry survive; for I have small faith in the alleged antiquity of Anantathuriya's death song, and none at all in that of the ၵံးကလေး။¹ The only forms of vernacular literature of this period known to me are (i) the short epigraphs, written in ink or incised in clay, describing scenes from the holy books; (ii) the stone and ink inscriptions recording dedications, and (iii) palm leaf writing, kept in coffer in the palace archives, "records (? record-room) of deeds done" (*amu* or *amo kwan*). These last

1. The sheep ၵံး is an animal not mentioned, so as far as I am aware, in Old Burmese. The name *Anantasūra* occurs frequently (one was the donor of the long inscription translated above), but never *Anantāsūriya*.

(no longer extant) were originally, perhaps, duplicates of the stone inscriptions; later they developed into a distinct literary and poetical form—the *mawgun*. In 1271 A. D., for example, the elder Queen Phwā Jaw made a list of her various dedications and showed it to the king in audience. The king ordered that it should be preserved in the archives (*amū kwan tañ e'*). It was then placed in a wooden coffer (*sac talā*)—8 sheets of gilded palm leaf (*piy*), tied with gold thread and bound in painted boards (*sac klyam*).¹ Again in 1288 A. D., with the approval of Rhuy-nañ-syañ or Klawcwā, the dedication made at the Kyaukzedi, Singaing, Kyaukse by the Three Shan Brothers (it is the first time we read of them), were “recorded in the archives” (*amo kwan tañ e'*). It was written on leaves of the toddypalm (*than rwak*), and bound between two boards of cotton wood (*lakpam klyam 2 thaṭ akrā*).² These are the two oldest mentions in Burmese of palm leaf literature; and it is interesting to note that two different types of palm leaf were then used; not only the *pe* (*Corypha umbraculifera*) in use today, but also the leaf of the palmyra (*Borassus flabellifer*). The use of palm leaf for manuscripts, however, goes back to the Pyu of Sriksetra.³

It has been the fashion for Burmese scholars to ignore, if not actually to despise, the old inscriptions—mainly, I gather, on grounds of style. I freely admit that there is not a spark of poetry in them; and further, that the later the date, the less interesting as a rule they become. But they are full of life and vigour down to 1300 A. D. at any rate. The style is usually brief and simple, without the dull triviality of so many of the medieval inscriptions, or the pompous—*phrac tha so*—style of Bodawpaya. Personally (but I am no judge) I find these unpretentious records of Pagan offerings delightful. They are unquestionably the fountain head of Burmese literature, and they are nothing for Burmans to be ashamed of. Before the extravagant and bombastic styles of Indian literature captured Burmese, the Burman could express himself with clarity and swiftness, which, as the cognate tongue Chinese shews, is the rock-bottom of good style in both languages. Neither language excels in generalization: “eyes-nose” (*myaknhā*) is a poor equivalent in Burmese for “a face”, just as “east-west” is a poor Chinese equivalent for “a thing”. Still old Burmese was a fine language. It coped with the alien philosophical terms imported with Buddhism quite as bravely as the modern Burman with the terms of western science. “Know-wide, see-deep” (*si cap mrañ nham*) that is not a bad Burmese paraphrase for “omniscience”, which occurs in one of the inscriptions.⁴

1. List 334, ll. 36-39. *S.I.P.* p. 105-6.

2. List 379 6, *U.B.I.* p. 269.

3. Palm-leaves are presumably the model on which are based, *e.g.*, the Maunggan gold plates now in the British Museum, and the magnificent goldleaf manuscript recently discovered near Hmawza by Mr. Duroiselle (see *Arch. Sur. Ind., Ann. ep.*, 1926-27, pp. 179-180, Plate XLII, *g, h*).

4. List 190 6, *S.I.P.* p. 35.

BURMA'S DEBT TO PAGAN.

I think I have said enough—not indeed to exhaust the subject of Burma's debt to Pagan, but to indicate some of the directions in which we may hope ultimately to trace it. Unfortunately we know too little of the social and political organisation of Pagan to state at all precisely what debt the modern Burmese M.L.C. owes to the Pagan administrator. But even this will be revealed in part, I expect, as research proceeds. And I do not think any one in this Hall will dispute my assertion that the deeper the Burmese official of the future drives his roots into the past of Burmese history, the better it will be for Burma.

G. H. LUCE.

Afterthought.—I have perhaps libelled the Burmese inscriptions of Pagan in saying that there is not a spark of poetry in them. On reflection, I can point to one scintilla :—*nhaclun̄ muy' lyāw sāyā cwoā so arimaddanapūr mañ so prañ* "Pagan, that happy country where the heart reposes" (List 235 a 4, *S.I.P.* p. 49).

A NOTE ON THE WORD 'TANCĪKŪ'

There are three stone inscriptions of the Pagan period in which we find mention of the word *Tancikū*. In an inscription dated 1227 A.D. (1) we read of certain images being offered to a Pagoda, and that one of these images was made of *tancikū*. In another, dated 1236 A.D. (2) we are told of a certain *nā si khwā sañ* (ငါးခွာဆင်) who made an offering of a *tancikū* image. In a third, dated 1223 A.D. (3) we find that when enshrinement of the *kū* took place the holy body relics were placed in an innermost casket of *tancikū*; outside this was a casket of crystal, outside this again a casket of red *tancikū*, followed successively by a casket of gold, one of silver, one of gold studded with gems, one of ivory and one of copper.

Apart from the obvious inference that the word *tancikū* denoted a precious substance (perhaps the most precious substance in those days) there are no other indications in the stone inscriptions to help us in establishing its identity.

Two passages in the ink inscriptions, somewhat defaced, but legible, found in the Kyaunggyi Zedi No. 416, Pagan, in which the word *tancikū* occurs, have been of the greatest assistance in determining the meaning of the word. The passages are :—

(1) E. Vestibule, S. E. Corner, S. Wall, 12 “ ၂၀၂ ကာ sunaparan-tapa prañ nhuik kun sañ takā tancikū kloñ lhwat rakā sañkhā nhañ akwa purhā skhiñ kuiw chwampan nhañ lup klwañ pū (၂) aw sakā mū kun so te ၂၀၂ ”

“ This is when in Sunaparantapa country the merchants made an offering of a *tancikū* monastery, the sanghas with.....they ministered to the Lord Buddha with food offerings.”

(2) 14. “ ၂၀၂(Su) naparantapa prañ [tanci(k)ū] (kāri) nhuik tancikū khwat rakā sac pañ con' so nat nakā tuiw myak luiw ruy than cwā so tanpuiw (mhl) ok ciy skhin punnatther kuiw...rakā lwat e ”
“ ... Sunaparantapa country in the (*tancikū* journey) when *tancikū* was cut down, the tree guardian spirits being angered raised violent billows and the Lord Punna therā.....(they) were saved.”

The incidents referred to in the above passages are found in the *Punnovada sutta* and related by Spence Hardy in his manual of Buddhism as follows :—

“ In the time of Gotama Buddha there resided a merchant at Sunā-paranta, who was called Punna; but he embraced the priesthood, and

(1) Lemyetnha Stone IV E. face.

(2) List 241

(3) List 190.

became a rahat. After his attainment of this high state, 500 of his former associates embarked on a distant voyage, with his younger brother at their head, who had previously taken upon himself the five obligations. But the merchants were overtaken by a storm, and were carried along until they arrived at a certain island. In the morning they set about preparing their food, but could find no kind of fuel except red sandalwood, as there were no other trees in the forest. One of them, when this was discovered said to his companions, "We may go further, but can find nothing more valuable than red Sandalwood, so it will be well for us to heave our present cargo overboard, and load our ship with this timber, four inches of which are worth a lac of treasure". The others were willing to follow this advice, and many trees were cut down. But there were many *yakās* in that island, who became angry with the merchants for destroying their habitations, as they thus invaded their rights. They could have killed the intruders at once but for the stench that was to be apprehended from their dead bodies: they therefore resolved upon punishing them after they had re-embarked. For this purpose they raised a violent storm, and appeared to the mariners in frightful shapes, so that they became greatly afraid, and each cried to his *d.wā*, but the younger brother called for the assistance of Punna, the rahat. This was perceived by Punna, who went to their assistance through the air, and when the *yakās* saw him coming, they became afraid in their turn, and fled away. After encouraging the mariners, he asked them to what port they were going, and when they said their own, he directed the head of the vessel towards it, and conveyed them thither by his supernatural power. When this families were informed of what had occurred, they all received the five obligations from Punna. They were desirous of presenting a portion of the Sandalwood to the rahat, but he told them to erect therewith a residence for Buddha. After its completion, the teacher of the three worlds visited the place, and there remained several days, preaching to the people."

Mons. Ch. Duroiselle in his "Notes sur la Geographie apocryphe de la Birmanie, apropos de la legende de Pârna" in Tome V. Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise d'extreme-Orient pp. 146-167 gives the Pali Text and a French translation of this story. The *Sāsana Vamsa* which gives a history of Buddhism in Burma mentions the offering of a Sandalwood vihara to Buddha.

These passages have helped to determine the meaning of *tancikū* as Sandalwood.

The derivation of the word still remains a problem. At first sight it may appear to be the corrupted form of the Burmese word *ဝေဇာနီ* (*candakū*) derived from the Pali *Candamāni*. Although many Pali words were imported into the Burmese language with the coming of Buddhism, and although Sandalwood is frequently mentioned in Buddhist legends, we have not been able to discover the use of the direct

derivative စန္ဒကူး in any of the Pagan inscriptions. We are therefore led to conclude that the word *tancikū* existed in the Burmese language before the word စန္ဒကူး was introduced. As sandalwood proper is not native to Burma it might be conjectured that its name was imported with it, but the Persian and Arabian equivalents of sandalwood, this being exported by these countries, is *candal*, and shows no resemblance to *tancikū*. The word *tancikū* seems to have disappeared from use after the Pagan period with the following exceptions:—In the Pyaṭiḥa Pyo' of Rhañ Tejosāra (early in the 16th century A.D.) we find it as နေစကူး (*dhancakū*). In an old song quoted in U Tin's Kabyābandhasara Kyam the form (*tan'sakū*) တန်စကူး occurs.

Stevenson's dictionary gives a form ဒန္တကူး (*dandaku*) as equivalent to စန္ဒကူး (*candakū*).

LAO HTIN SI.

‘တန်စီကူ’ဟူသောစကား၏အဓိပ္ပါယ်။

ပုဂံခေတ်ကျောက်စာတို့တွင်၊ ‘တန်စီကူ’ဟူသောစကားပါရှိသောကျောက်စာ ၃ ချပ်ကိုတွေ့ရှိရ၏။ ကျောက်စာတချပ်၌ကား၊ ဆင်းထုအချို့ချိုးဘုရားကိုလှူရာတွင် ‘တန်စီကူ’ဆင်းထုတခုပါဝင်ကြောင်း၊ ဘော်ပြထားသည်ကိုတွေ့ရ၏။ အခြားကျောက်စာတချပ်တွင်၊ ငါ့သိခွါသင်မည်သောသူတယောက်ကား၊ ‘တန်စီကူ’ဆင်းထုကိုလှူကြောင်းမှတ်သားထား၏။ နောက်ကျောက်စာတချပ်၌ကား၊ ဘုရားတည်၍ ကူထပ်နာပြုသောအခါသရီရဇိတ်တော်တို့ကို၊ ‘တန်စီကူ’ကြွတ်နှင့်ထည့်ကြောင်း၊ ၎င်း ‘တန်စီကူ’ကြွတ်အပြင်က ဖလိကြွတ်၊ ၎င်းအပြင်က ‘တန်စီကူ’နီကြွတ်၊ ၎င်းအပြင်က ရွှေကြွတ်၊ ၎င်းအပြင်က ငွေကြွတ်၊ ၎င်းအပြင်က ကျောက်မျက်ရတနာ ၃ ခုတပ်သောကြွတ်၊ ဆင်စွယ်ကြွတ်နှင့် ကြေးနီကြွတ်တို့ဖြင့် အထပ်ထပ်လုပ်ထားကြောင်းကို ဘတ်ရလေသည်။ ဤကျောက်စာများကို ဘတ်ရခြင်းဖြင့်၊ ‘တန်စီကူ’မည်သောအရာဝတ္ထုသည်၊ အလွန်အဘိုးထိုက်ကြောင်း၊ ၎င်းထက်ပို၍ အဘိုးထိုက်တန်သောအရာဝတ္ထုမရှိဟူ၍ နားလည်သိရှိရသော်လည်း၊ ‘ဤတန်စီကူ’သည်၊ မည်သည့်ဝတ္ထုဖြစ်သည်ကိုကား၊ သေချာတပ်အပ်စွာမသိရချေ။ ။

ပုဂံမြို့အနောက်တောင်ဘက်ရှိ ကျောင်းကြီးစေတီမည်သော ဘုရားအဝင်ဝ၊ အရှေ့တောင်ထောင့်ဘက်တွင်ရှိသော နံရံဝယ်၊ မင်ဖြင့် ရေးသားလျက်ရှိသော စာကြောင်း ၂ ကြောင်းတို့ကြောင့်သားလျှင်၊ ဤ‘တန်စီကူ’ဟူသောစကား၏အဓိပ္ပါယ်ကို ထင်ရှားစွာနားလည်သိရှိရပါတော့သည်။ ထိုမင်စာတို့အချို့နေရာတွင်ပျက်နေသော်လည်း၊ အောက်ပါအတိုင်းဘတ်ရရ၏။

ကြောင်းရေး-၂။ ဝ ။ ဤကာသုနပရန်တပပြည်နှိုက် ကုန်သည်တကာ တန်စီကူဏှောင် လွှတ်ရကာ သင်္ခါ.....နှင့်အကွပုဂ္ဂသွင်ကိုင်ဆွံနနှင့်လုပ်လွှည်ပုဇဉ်သကာမူကုန်သောတော။ ဝ ။

ကြောင်းရေး-၄။ ဝ ။ (သ) နပရန်တပြည်တန်စီ (ကူ) ခါရိနှိုက်တန်စီကူခွတ်ရကာ သစ်ပင်စောင့်သောနက်နကာတိုင် မျက်လှိုင်ရယ်ထန်စွာသောတန်ဖိုဝ် ခ (ဇွ) ကိစိယသွင်ပုန္နထေရ်ကိုဝ်.....ရကာလွှတ်ဇ။

အထက်ပါ အကြောင်းအရာတို့ကို (ပုဂ္ဂိုလ်သတ်) တွင် ဘော်ပြထားသည်ကို တွေ့ရပါသည်။ (Spence Hardy) ၏ (Manual of Buddhism) အမည်ရှိသောစာစောင်တွင်လည်း၊ အောက်ပါ အတိုင်းတွေ့ရ၏။ ။

ဂေါတမဘုရားသခင်လက်ထက်တော်တွင်၊ သုနပရန္တတိုင်း၌၊ ပုဏ္ဏမည်သောကုန်သည်သူကြွယ်တဦး ခေါ်သည်ရှိ၏။ ထိုသူကြွယ်သည်သဘာဝနာဘောင်သို့ဝင်၍၊ ကြေးမီရဟန္တဖြစ်လေ၏။ ပုဏ္ဏထေရ်၏ညီသည်၊ ငါး ပါးသီလကို ဆောက်တည်၍၊ ၅၀၀ သောကုန်သည် အဘော်တို့နှင့်အတူ၊ တိုင်းတပါးသို့ သင်္ဘောလွှင့်လေ၏။ လမ်းခရီးတွင်လေမုန်တိုင်းမိ၍၊ ကျွန်းတကျွန်းသို့ဆိုက်ရောက်သွားလေ၏။ နံနက်အချိန်၌ထမင်းဟင်းချက်ပြုတ်ရန် အလိုငှါ၊ ထင်းရှာသောအခါ၊ စန္ဒကူးနိမ္မိတပါးအခြားသစ်ပင်တို့ကိုထိုကျွန်းပေါ်၌မတွေ့ရချေ။ ထိုအကြောင်းကို တွေ့ရှိသောသူကြွယ်တဦးက၊ “ကျွန်ုပ်တို့သည်၊ ခရီးဆက်လက်၍ သွားငြားသော်လည်း၊ ဤစန္ဒကူးနိမ္မိတအဘိုး ထိုက်သောပစ္စည်းကိုတွေ့ရမည်မဟုတ်၊ ထိုကြောင့်သင်္ဘောပါးကုန်တို့ကိုချွေ၍၊ လက်လေးသစ်လျှင်အဘိုးတသိန်း ထိုက်သော၊ စန္ဒကူးနိမ္မိ၊ သစ်တို့ကိုတင်ကြကုန်အံ့။” ဟုဆို၏။ ဤအကြံကိုအများနှစ်သက်ရကား၊ စန္ဒကူးနိမ္မိသစ်ပင် အမြောက်အမြားကို ခုတ်လှဲ တင်ဆောင် ကြကုန်၏။ သစ်ပင်စောင့် နတ်တို့လည်း၊ မိမိတို့ ဘုံမိမာန်ကို ဖျက်ဆီး သောကြောင့် အမျက်ထွက်ကြကုန်၍၊ ကုန်သည်တို့ကို ထိုနေရာတွင်ပင် သတ်လိုငြားသော်လည်း၊ သူကောင်ပုပ် နို့ကိုစက်ဆုပ်ရကား၊ သင်္ဘောလွှင့်မှ ဒါဏ်ခတ်အံ့ဟု ဆုံးဖြတ်ကြကုန်၏။ သင်္ဘောလွှင့်သော်၊ နတ်တို့သည် သ မုဒ္ဒရာအလယ်၌၊ ပြင်းထန်စွာသော တံခွားကိုထစေ၏။ ကုန်သည်တို့လည်း များစွာကြောက်လန့်ကြသဖြင့်၊ မိမိတို့ ကိုးကွယ်သော နတ်အသီးသီးကို၊ တ၊ သ၊ မြည်ခေါ်ကြကုန်၏။ ပုဏ္ဏထေရ်၏ ညီငယ်မှူးကား၊ နောင်တော် ပုဏ္ဏ ထေရ်ကို၊ တ၊ သ၊ မြည်ခေါ်ပေ၏။ ပုဏ္ဏထေရ်လည်း ညီတော်၏အသံကို ကြားတော်မူသောကြောင့်၊ ကောင်းကင် ခရီးဖြင့်လာသည်ကို နတ်တို့မြင်၍၊ ထိန်းလန့်တကြားတိမ်းရှောင် ပြေးလွှားကြကုန်သတည်း။ ထိုနောက်ပုဏ္ဏထေရ် လည်း၊ မိမိတန်ခိုးဖြင့် ကုန်သည်တို့ကို လိုရာ ဆိပ်ကမ်းသို့ ပို့ဆောင်ပေ၏။ ပုဏ္ဏထေရ်၏ တန်ခိုး အာနုဘော်ကို ကြားသိရသောဆွေမျိုးတို့သည်၊ ပုဏ္ဏထေရ်ထံမှ ငါးပါးသီလကိုခံယူပြီးသော်ပုဏ္ဏထေရ်အားစန္ဒကူးအချို့ကို၊ လူ လိုကြ၏။ သို့သော် ပုဏ္ဏထေရ်က၊ ထိုစန္ဒကူးသစ်တို့ဖြင့်၊ မြတ်စွာဘုရားသီတင်းသုံးတော်မူရန်အလိုငှါ၊ ကျောင်း ဆောက်လှူကြဟုမိန့်တော်မူ၏။ ကျောင်းပြီးလေသော် မြတ်စွာဘုရား သခင်လည်း ကြွလာတော်မူ၍၊ လူအများ အား တရားဟောကြားတော်မူလျက်၊ ခေတ္တသီတင်းသုံးတော်မူ၏။ ။

သာသနာ့ဝင်ကျမ်းတွင်လည်း၊ မြတ်စွာဘုရားသခင်အား စန္ဒကူးကျောင်းတဆောင် လှူကြောင်းကိုဆို၏။ အထက်ဘော်ပြရာပါ၊ အချက်တို့ကိုထောက်ရှုလျှင် ‘တန်ဖီကူ’ ဟူသောစကားသည်၊ စန္ဒကူးကိုပင် ဆိုကြောင်း၊ တပ်အပ်ထေချာစွာသိရပေသည်။ ။

‘တန်ဖီကူ’ ဟူသောစကား၏အရင်းမူလကို မဆုံးဖြတ်နိုင်သေး၊ အမှတ်မဲ့ကြည့်လျှင်ကား၊ ပါဠိခေါ်-စန္ဒန၊ မြန်မာခေါ်စန္ဒကူးဟူသောစကားမှ၊ ရွှေ့လျောလာဘိသကဲ့သို့ထင်ရ၏။ သို့သော်လည်း၊ ပုဂံကျောက်စာတို့တွင်၊ စန္ဒကူးဟူသောစကားကို၊ တခါမျှမတွေ့ရချေ။ ထိုကြောင့်ယင်း‘တန်ဖီကူ’ ဟူသောစကားသည်၊ စန္ဒကူးဟူသောစ ကားမပေါ်မီအထက်ကာလရှိနေသည်ဟု ထင်ဘွယ်အကြောင်းရှိ၏။ စန္ဒကူးပင်သည် မြန်မာပြည်တွင်ပေါက်ရင်းစွဲ အပင်မဟုတ်။ အာရှေမျှပြည်၊ ပါးရှားပြည်တို့မှသွင်းဆောင်လာသောဝတ္ထုဖြစ်၏။ ထိုကြောင့်‘တန်ဖီကူ’ ဟူသော စကားသည်လည်း၊ ထိုတိုင်းပြည်တို့မှဝင်ရောက်လာလေသလောဟု တွေးတောဘွယ်ရှိ၏။ သို့သော်-ထိုသို့ကား မဟုတ်။ ထိုတိုင်းပြည်တို့တွင်၊ စန္ဒကူးကို ‘စန္ဒလ’ ဟူ၍သာခေါ်ကြကုန်၏။ ။

ပုဂံခေတ်လွန်ပြီးနောက် ‘တန်ဖီကူ’ ဟူသောစကားအသုံးအနှုန်းကိုမတွေ့ရ။ ရှင်တေဇာသာရ၏ပြာဠိဟာ ခန်းဗျို့တွင်ကား၊ ခန့်စကူး-ဟုတွေ့ရသေး၏။ စတီဝင်ဆန်၏မြန်မာအင်္ဂလိပ်အဘိဓာန်တွင်ကား၊ စန္ဒကူးဟုအ မိပ္ပါယ်ရသည်ဆိုသော၊ စန္ဒကူး-ဟူသောစကားကိုဘော်ပြထား၏။ ထိုပြင်ကဗျာဗန္ဓသဘေရကျမ်း၊ ဒုတိယကဏ္ဍ၊ စာမျက်နှာ ၁၇၀ တွင်ပါသော၊ ပြည်မင်းမျက်နှာရည်ကိုယ်တော်တိုင်၊ ကသည်းကာချင်း၌ကား၊ “စံကားဝတ်စုံ မြေ၊ သွန်းညောင်ရေ၊ ထုံလေတန်စကူး၊ နွေလဆိန်၊ ဆန်းလဦး။” စသည်ဖြင့်၊ တန်စကူး-ဟူ၍ပါရှိလေသည်။ ။

CORRESPONDENCE.

Dated the 25th September 1932.

To,

THE EDITOR,

Journal of the Burma Research Society.

SIR,

The incident mentioned on page 83 of the last number, in which the younger Sarkies Manook told King Mindon in 1855 that the English were completely finished, referring to the siege of Sebastopol, has a parallel in a similar incident in which his father took part. On page 361 of Volume 1 of the *British Burma Gazetteer*, 1880, it is said that "King Hpagyeedaw and his ministers had been assured by Dr. Price....and by Mr. Sarkies....that the first war had nearly ruined the British Government", this being one of the reasons why no second war was anticipated. The earlier conversation must have been before 1831 when the king became finally insane, and the distance in dates and the mention of Dr. Price no doubt establish the fact that they were not one and the same event. Nevertheless, it is a curious coincidence that a Sarkies should be concerned in each case, that the conversation was almost the same with no comment or amplification, and that apparently just these two instances should be on record.

The elder Sarkies was a Rangoon merchant and pro-British, but he presumably had to say what the king liked to hear, while in the presence and power of that monarch.

Yours faithfully,

R. R. LANGHAM-CARTER.

A MON SONG OF THE SEASONS

WITH TRANSLATION AND NOTES.

The poem consists of twelve stanzas, each devoted to a month and describing the weather commonly experienced and the occupations of country-people in that month. The poet writes as a lover separated from his sweet-heart and some of the verses briefly contrast his sadness of heart with the mirth of other people at times of festival.

The text printed below was obtained in manuscript in Ahlat village, Thaton district, early in 1927. I was transferred from Thaton immediately afterwards and had no time to study the poem for some years. In 1930 I made a translation of it—with much labour. The text and translation were then submitted to the Rev. R. Halliday, Moulmein, by whom a number of mistakes in the translation were corrected. I have since gone carefully through the poem, referring to the *Lik Smin Asah*, edited by Mr. Halliday in 1923, for help in interpreting poetical words and phrases. The text, as will be seen from the notes, is corrupt in places. I have printed it exactly as I received it in the hope that other more correct copies may be forthcoming, from comparison with which it should be possible to prepare a better text. I have, however, pointed out in the notes all places in which the metre or sense shows the text to be certainly corrupt, and suggested emendations. For these no high degree of probability or even plausibility is claimed. Corruption has occurred not through mistakes in copying but from failure of memory and it is not easy to decide on what principles emendation should proceed. The only hope of restoring the correct text lies in obtaining other records of the poem.

There is little internal evidence of date. The poem was clearly composed when Mon was a live literary medium, and by some one who was a master of poetical form and phraseology. The language is quite free from Burmese words or idiom. It is purer—so far as can be judged from a short composition—than the Mon of the *Lik Smin Asah*, which was written in 1825 A.D. but not appreciably more archaic. The *Lik Smin Asah* is a remarkable work in respect of construction, command of the poetical medium and poetical feeling. The author aimed at a revival of Mon poetry. But he cannot have been a isolated phenomenon; the tradition must still have been alive and there must have been a public capable of appreciating poetry and probably other competent verse writers at the time. We shall not be far out if we suppose that one of them composed the song of the twelve seasons, and that it dates back to about the beginning of the nineteenth century.

It is necessary to emphasize that the song is not popular poetry comparable to the rhymes which I published in the *Journal of the*

Burma Research Society vol XV, ii, p. 144. Twenty out of forty-eight syllables in each stanza have to rhyme and the stanzas could only have been written by a skilled versifier with a good command of vocabulary.

I have already acknowledged the help privately received from Mr. Halliday. The extent of my indebtedness to his published works—the Mon English Dictionary and his edition of the Lik Smin Asah will be apparent from the numerous references to them in the notes. Except for one meeting with U San Win of the Archaeological Department, from whom I derived some useful hints, I have had no opportunity of consulting any Mon possessing a scholarly knowledge of his language. Dr. Blagden kindly read my manuscript and was good enough to suggest its publication.

Metre.

Each stanza consists of four lines and each line of three quadrisyllabic phrases. The rhyme-scheme is elaborate. It is exhibited in the following English imitation.

*Now shepherded Joe doth blow his nail and wail his lot,
In hall and cot fire's hot beneath a seething stew.
The ways are foul, the owl aloft sings oft tu-whoo,
And greasy Sue in shrewish pet upset the pot.*

It will be seen that, in each line, to the syllable at the end of the first phrase there is a medial rhyme in the second phrase. Similarly, to the final syllable of phrase 2, there is a medial rhyme in phrase 3.

Rhymes also connect the first with the second and the third with the fourth line. The final syllable of the first line rhymes with the final syllable of phrase 1 of line 2, which has, as stated, a medial rhyme in phrase 2. So with the third and fourth lines.

There is a further connection by rhyme of line 1 with line 4, and of line 2 with line 3—the final syllables of these pairs rhyming. The rhymes at the ends of lines, therefore, are *abba*

“Visual” rhymes are freely admitted, as is done in Asah, e.g. ၫၢၦ (tekün) and ၫၢၦ (tän), ဃး (nyeh) and တ'အ (t'ah).

There are serious imperfections in the rhyme scheme of stanzas IV, V and VI—rhyme-links are wanting between lines 1 and 4 and between lines 2 and 3. These and a few other minor imperfections are dealt with in the notes below.

The major imperfections, in my opinion, indicate that the text is corrupt. This opinion is based on an examination of one other poem in the same stanza and of a large number of verses in a similar stanza.

The poem in the same stanza is a song recounting the Indian origin of the three tribes of Mons and their settlement in Burma, a copy of which was given me in 1926 by Maung Saw Pe of the Bernard Free Library. There are three stanzas and the first lines of all three show rhyme deficiencies; in one case rhyme links between the phrases are altogether absent, and in the other two cases there is no link between the first and second phrases. Otherwise the rhyme scheme is complete. And in regard to the deficiencies in the first lines, the exclamatory words and Indian place-names which these lines contain were no doubt awkward to handle.

Many of the lyrics in the Asah are written in a four-line stanza, each line consisting of two quadrisyllabic phrases. Phrases and lines are linked by rhyme as in the Song of the Seasons, as will be seen from the following specimen stanza and English imitation.

<i>Lamuh nai klā</i>	<i>t'a sa pā lū</i>
<i>Chū mi toi rao</i>	<i>doh k'alao ngoa</i>
<i>Lapoh glai hom</i>	<i>akrom ot toa</i>
<i>Yū tekong poa</i>	<i>mi lēm toa rao.</i>

This stanza will be found at Asah, page 45. *Lū* in line 1 is written လူ and is a visual rhyme to *rao*, written ရာ။ Halliday's translation is "Just now again your sight is dazzled. You have found a mother and are of the solar race. She has told you all the story of your life. O precious one, shall my life be destroyed."

*Son of my race ungracious grown,
Peril unknown too prone to dare,
Pegu shall crash in ashes ere
Her load to bear you fare alone.*

Stanzas of this type occur at pages 42, 45 to 49, 57 and 58 of the Asah and show very few irregularities. I have examined carefully the thirteen stanzas on page 48 and can find no deficiencies of rhyme. At line 9 of page 58, a link-rhyme between the phrases in the first line of a stanza is wanting. There is a similar deficiency at page 49, line 2, in the third line of a stanza. Such flaws, however, are very rare and in no case is there a departure from the *abba* scheme of final rhymes or a failure to link by rhyme lines 1 and 2, or lines 3 and 4.

Examination of available material, therefore, shows that *abba* stanzas were well established in Mon poetry and major imperfections were not tolerated. The occurrence of such imperfections is an indication of corruption.

The following remarks are added as there may not be a chance of returning to the subject of Mon metre.

At page vii of the Introduction to Asah, Mr. Halliday expounds the rule of epic verse, governing the continuance of the same final rhyme for a long succession of verses, or octosyllabic lines, and the method of introducing a new rhyme. But nothing is said of the rhymes usually found within the line, connecting one phrase with another.

Another type of lyric stanza is found in the Asah. The scheme of final rhymes is *aaba* and stanzas with the same final rhymes succeed each other from beginning to end of a lyric. Examples will be found at pages 23, 30, 31, 34 and 46. It is worth noting that the *aaba* stanza predominates in the first, and the *abba* stanza in the second half of the poem.

It is obvious that Mon and Burmese verse have little in common. Mon seems to have considerable affinity with Arabic verse ; but with this subject I am not competent to deal.

I.—APRIL.

ရိုပိကုဓ- တွဲကတ်ထတ် ကမတ်ကဟ်ဒေ။
 ဂုတ်ဗွဲလ ဝဲ- သေသေ-တုတ်ဗွဲ- ဗလိုပိကုဏ်တာ။
 တေဗြဲ ခရီး-ခိုခိုကန်ကန်- ဂဟ်ဟန်ဇာ။
 ခေါ်ခိုကုတ်နာ- ဩဗွဲသွာယျ-ဟကညးဇွဲ။

čāp kitau čoa ngoa katao thòt kamot kòh ea
 wut plai leleo seo seo tauk dait pelēp kyait phē
 te' nyeh terēm dām dām kām kām kečo' han čē
 ngoa nu krutnā sai nu smāye ha ka nyeh pleo

(Note.—The system of phonetic representation followed is that used by Halliday in his dictionary.)

When Tsoa month comes, the sun is hot and fierce, the grass is dry and uneven. The young people, dispersing with confused noise draw water and bathe the lord of the monastery. There, close together they sit in company. Away from tenderness, separated from my sweetheart I am worse than a banished man.

2. သေသေ Halliday's Dict. gives သေဩ "with confused noise," ဗလိုပိကုဏ်တာ။ ဗလိုပိ is to bathe ceremonially." Mr. Halliday writes : "It is the time of the Thingyan festival, when the young people draw water to bathe the monks and old folks.I once saw a monk bathed during the festival at Ye."

3. ခိုခို ကန်ကန်။ ကန်ကန် is "together, in close formation." ခို is "blue." It may have been introduced to rhyme with ခရီး and as indicating the predominant colour in the crowd of young men and women. In old Burmese songs the headdress of young men is often of blue. See, for instance, the paddy-planting songs published by U Lugale in J. B. R. S. Vol XXI Part I page 15.

ဝံ့ဟာန် ဇာ။ “Sit in company” ဇာ is an expletive which occurs frequently in the Asah at the end of a line, following usually a verb but sometimes a noun. It is found with ဇြီ “to boast” (p. 7) ဇြာန် “to be gnarled” (p. 14) ဖြံ “to be scattered” (p. 24) ဖြံ “to put up a barrier” (p. 25) ဖေင် “to be full” (*ibid.*) ကခွာန် “attendants” (p. 29)

4. ဇွဲ။ ဇွဲ in Halliday, ဇွဲ in Asah (p. 1) ဇြိတ်နာ။ Halliday gives ကရုတ်ကာ; the form ဇြိတ်ကာ occurs in Asah (p. 25).

ဆွာယှ။ Not in Halliday, apparently from Pali Samāyāsi “to come together. The meaning seems to be sweetheart. The word occurs again in stanza II. It also occurs in a rhyming account of the Indian origin of the Mons တး ဂျိင်သွာယှတ်လိင်ကသေပူင်မန်။ Leaving our dear country Tilingana, the place and town of the Mons.”

ဇ။ Given by Halliday under ယုံက။

II.—MAY.

မိုဝ်ဝိတုပသင်-မြိုင်ယာယီ-ဆေင်လေင်ပိုက်မြော။
 ပွာန်သိုင်ဝါယော-ဇက်လမောဟိုန်-လိုန်သန်ကာသ။
 ဝရိုဝမြိုင်-ပွာန်သိုင်မြိကျာ-ဟုံမြိကာလ။
 အဲကိုသွာယှ-သင်ပုံညန်-မွဲဝါစန်ရော။

cäp kitau pasait proa dait yēyi chēlē pāk mrü
 panan smoin wēyü ceak lemü tăn lūn dān kāsā
 kekū kemroin panan smoin proa kyā hu' khra kala
 oa kǎ smāye sait pa ku' nyon moa wē plon rao

When Pasaik comes, there are occasional showers and the lightning shatters. The warlike might of the king of the winds marches in increasing strength and treads the road of the sky. Thunder resounds. Enmity of kings of wind and rain never ceases. How am I to get near to my sweetheart again?

1. ဆေင်လေင်။ Lightning. Halliday's Dict., has ဆေင်ပလေင်။ This is the ordinary colloquial form.

မြော။ This word is given in Halliday's Vocabulary to the Asah as meaning appearing. Thus (p. 42) ဥလျိုင်မြော “showing light remains visible.”

2. ပွာန်သိုင်ဝါယော။ “The warlike might of the wind king.” Cp. Asah ပွာန်သိုင်ဇွဲ “the warlike might of the King of Darkness” (p. 41) လမော။ “No such word is recognized in Halliday's Dict. nor recorded in his vocabulary to Asah. It may be a by-form of လမောင် “to increase” or a perversion of that word to meet the needs of rhyme. If လမော is not found elsewhere in poetry, we

may suppose it to have displaced some unfamiliar word forming a couplet with ၵၢ်။ This may have been မွေဝံ which is found following ၵၢ် at Asah p. 28. The phrase would, however, be left without a rhyme to ြော and ယော။ We might read ၵၢ်မွေဝံ ဘောတိုန် “marches in increasing strength,” မွေဝံ seems to mean “to exert oneself”; မွေဝံဒော means “to hurry” (Asah p. 10.)

ၵာယ။ For Pali ākāsa “sky” as at p. 36 etc. of Asah.

4. Mr. Halliday is inclined to take the words “How am I to get near to my sweetheart?” as referring to the state of the man’s mind. That is, he would not be thinking of the storms as preventing access to her and the line would have very little connection with the preceding lines. It seems to me probable, however, that the idea is similar to that in Burns’s “Wandering Willie ;
Rest, ye wild storms in the cave o’ your slumbers.
How your wild howling a lover alarms.

ၵၢ်။ Evidently equivalent to ယၢ် “how” as is ယိၣ် in X 4 and XI 4.

III.—JUNE.

စိုပ်ိတုဇွဲ-ကျိၣ်အနာင်-ပံက်ထာင်ရာင်မြော။
ဗြဲဇွဲာ်ဗျူရာ-ယောဝတံတိတ်-ညးဇိက်ဗွဲ။
သတ်ဗိုညးကွၢ်-သတ်ဗိုညးဗိင်-သိင်ခါဇိဗြိ။
သွမတူထဲ-ခါဇိဗြိမတ်-ရာတိတတ်ရာ။

čäp kitau čeh keh ku’ anain pok thain rain mrū
proa hnok kū rao khū ketam tèt nyeh čoit pnye thoa
sòt tū nyeh kwait sòt dait nyeh boin soin kham čò proa
sme me tāu yoa kha čò proa mot rē teim čòt rao

When Zih comes the flower of the *Mimusops Elengi* and the *Fagraea Fragrans* open petals and blossom. Heavy rain falls. When the crab comes out men harrow the fields and plough. Animals of the land wander : animals of the water swim ; they revel in the flow of rain. I am as one distressed ; when rain of tears flows, there is no knowing when it will dry up.

1. The ၵၢ်ကျိ။ —*Mimusops Elengi* is perhaps the Mon poet’s favourite flower. See Asah *passim*. It is the Burmese ချော (List of Trees, shrubs etc. in Burma, Edition 1922, p. 201.) အနာင်။ The Burmese အနန်။ See Asah p. 15 and List of Trees etc. p. 185.
မြော See note II 1 above.

2. ဂူ။ This is the causative form of ဂူ “to rain”, which would be more correct.
3. သိင်္ခါ။ No sense can be made of these words. Read သိင်္ခါ။ သိင်္ခါ means “to delight in” and ဂူ “to be comfortable. ဂူ sometimes appears with another verb as the second member of a couplet without adding much to the meaning; e.g. ခိုဝံ့ at Asah 2 ပေင် ၁၃ သွင်ခိုဝံ့ကလ “full thirteen years have elapsed.” I have not come across an instance of ဂူ coupled with သိင်္ခါ but the meanings of the two words make them a suitable couplet.
4. သွ။ No such word appears in Halliday’s Dict. Mr. Halliday conjectures သွတ် “like, to be like.” Another form of the same word is သွ့ The syllable is not a rhyming one and either သွတ် or သွ့ may be read.

IV.—JULY.

ခိုဝံ့ကလ-ကံတိုန်စတိ-ဝုန်ကမတ်လံ။
 ထပိုတ်ယံ-ဟံ့ဂုရံပုန်-ဒေဗတောန်စ။
 လုပ်ဒိုန်မော်-သော်နဲသာကျ-ပလင်ရွှေဝံ့ကိုဉ်။
 ဟန်သုစိုတ်-ဗိုတ်ကွေတကျ-ရွှာလင်ခြံရံတ်။

čäp kitau tekün kok tän bôt bôt wun kamot lām
 thapoè to’ yēm hu’ ku’ rām plon deh peton í
 lup tekün pok sok nai Sākya pa lò bu’ kät
 patòn saucirät plat kle’ tahnā lesā lò kròp ròt

When Tekün comes; the *hinyans* sprout tenderly, the sweet potato climbs. The novices weep: they must not go home again: they must study. They begin the observances of the company who make the excellent Sakya lord their crown, establish virtue, extinguish desire, forsake goods and treasure.

1. ကံတို။ Not in Halliday. I was informed, I think by U San Win that this is the Burmese ကံတို “a kind of creeper bearing yellow flowers” (Judson s. v.,) In the Asah, however, ထင်ရံ is used. (p. 14.)

စတိစတိ။ Not in Halliday but apparently the စတိ occurring in စတိတတတ် and စတိထေး “to be young, tender, delicate.” (See Halliday’s vocabulary to Asah.)

ဝုန်ကမတ်။ Not in Halliday. Mr. Halliday conjectures it to be the spreading water plant variously called ဝုန်ဝတ် and ဝုန်ဝါ။

2. ထိခိုခို in Halliday : the usual modern pronunciation is *hapui*.
ရံ Burmese လူထွတ် to put off the robe and leave the priesthood.
3. သေဝ် "Excellent," lit. "hair of the head." In Asah (p. 44) Asah addresses his mother as မိနုသေဝ်သို့ဝ် "lady mother, hair of my head." cf for similar expressions Asah pp. 32 and 34. သေဝ်သို့ဝ် therefore, means one's most valued possession and သေဝ် alone in the text seems to have the same meaning.

ရွှေခံကိုဋ် "a crown." Halliday has ရွှေခံကိုတ် but he derives it from Pali makuṭo (Skṭ mukuṭa) and if this derivation is correct, the spelling in the text would be preferable. The comparison of someone or something to a crown is frequent in the Asah. The nobles address Asah as နုပဲကြက်ခိုတ်ရွှေခံကိုတ်ပိုက် "O true emerald, our crown." (p. 46) The author of the Asah in his introduction says : "Purifying my conscience in a faithful right conduct, I will make a sacred candle like to a crown. Setting it on the altar of my brow I will not allow it to fall away from the upright at all" (p. 1, Halliday's translation).

4. ထာ Halliday's Dict. has ထာဝာ
The rhyme scheme in this stanza is defective. The following emendations would set it right. At the end of line 2 add ဆိုတ် "all." For the last phrase of line 4, substitute ပွဲသီခေဝ် "practice the right moral precepts" prescribed for novices. It was this "eight-fold vow" that was taken by King Menander when he put on the yellow robe and did penance for seven days. (Milinda 90.)

V.—AUGUST.

မိုဝ်ဝိတုသွန်-ထုံဆုတန်ဂင်-ဇင်ကိုဇင်ဟုံ။
 မိုတ်ပွဲဝါအ-ဟုံမသကဲ-တွဲသင်ဂွေဝဲမ။
 မီဇောင်သရီ-လို့၌ဟုံကြွပ်-ထေဝ်ကလောန်ညောင်။
 ပွဲမိုတ်သုတ်သင်-ကိုပါင်ဇောကိုင်-ခိုင်ဇရင်ခိုင်။

ċap kitau sawòn tnòm chu tònn ko cò kä cò pkāo
 mnih pdoa wē āo ptum me sakoa ngoa sò kloa cāo
 bī hnok sathū lengü kòh patum soe thoe' kalon saain
 pdoa cāt sut sain kä pain hao klòng temong ċereang khòk

When Sawon comes, trees become fertile, there are shoots and budding flowers. Men in the paddy-fields plant seed and go home together in the evening. The big sea moans. Some plant paddy and give over other work. In their hearts they are happy and make their mouths to resound. They live on plots of land in the fields.

1. တန့်ဝင်း are stable as to their wombs, conceive *cf* Asah p. 20 where, however, the meaning is "to be conceived"—လုပ်တန့်ဝင်းပဲ့ခေါ်ထွင်း။

2. ဒု။ "Sir, madame," to fill in the verse.

တို့။ See note below.

သင်း။ "Side." In the couplet သင်း ခင်း သင်း can mean "support" and it is probably of the same root as ခင်း of the compound ခင်းခြင်း "the quarterings" of a wooden house to which the partition boards are nailed. In the Asah it is found coupled with various nouns *e.g.* ကျွမ်းဝင်း သင်း သင်း (p. 1) "the Buddha, the law and the order"; ပစ္စုပ္ပန်ရာဇာသင်း သင်း (p. 44) "prayers and devotions"; ဝိသုဒ္ဓိသင်း (p. 45.) "Energy." In all these cases the meaning "Support" is appropriate. This meaning is also appropriate in ခင်းသင်း it would refer to the cultivator's reliance on the seed sown. In the Asah သင်း is also found coupled with verbs of saying *e.g.* ဟိုသင်း and ဝေးသင်း။ It is unnecessary at present to consider its meaning in these combinations.

3. တို့။ This is a mistake for တို့ "to plant" which should be read here and in line 2. But line 2 has got badly corrupted: see below.

4. သုတိသင်း။ Not found as a couplet in Halliday. သုတိ may be a contraction of Pali သုဒ္ဓိ "pure, clear, bright." သင်း means "to shine." It occurs coupled with သျှင်း "lofty" (Asah p. 14)—
ပြသျှင်းသင်း တူကွင်း။ "turrets lofty and shining on white walls." The couplet သုတိသင်း may perhaps mean, read with ပဲ့စိုတ် "in the heart," "to be glowing with happiness."

In the above notes the text has been dealt with as it stands. There are, however, the following reasons for believing it to be corrupt:—

- (1) The repetition of တို့ in different senses. In line 2 it ought to mean "to sow" seed; in line 3 it is appropriately used of transplanting the seedlings from the nursery into the fields.
- (2) Rhyme deficiency in line 2, a medial *ao* rhyme is wanted in the second phrase for ဒု in the first phrase and တို့ at the end of line 1.
- (3) Absence of link rhymes between lines 1 and 4, and between lines 2 and 3.

In line 2 နှိ is suspect as giving an unsuitable meaning. နှိ
 "together" is suspect because nurseries would be scattered and those
 who had been working in them would be unlikely to return to the village
 by the same road. The word may have been borrowed from the next
 stanza and inserted to rhyme with သဲ by someone who did not under-
 stand the metre. ၆—in a rhyming position—is also suspect, because it
 rhymes back to line 1 instead of forward to the word at the end of line 3.

The following emendations are suggested.

For နှိ read နှိ and translate နှိ "sow seed paddy, make a nursery."
 The phrase နှိ occurs at Asah p. 16 and is translated by Halliday
 "keep for seed." "Keep for seed" is နှိလှိုင် which occurs in the pre-
 vious line and I venture to think that နှိလှိုင် must have a
 slightly different meaning, such as "the two, husband and wife (agreed)
 to use it (the golden gourd) as seed." နှိ or နှိလှိုင် is exactly parallel to
 the Burmese နှိလှိုင် to erect seed "the လှိုင် apparently looking forward
 to the appearance of the seedlings above ground. A reference to the
 dictionaries will show that the meanings—literal and metaphorical—of
 လှိုင် and နှိ are generally similar. နှိ in the sense of "make a nursery or
 seed-bed" is therefore quite a possible Mon expression *cp.* the English
 use of "set." It does appear, however, to be actually in use in this sense.

The third phrase of line 2 already contains a rhyme for the *Koa* of
 သဲ namely နှိ။ But နှိ belongs to the couplet နှိလှိုင် "in the evening"
 which is regularly pronounced with a strong emphasis on the လှိုင်။ An
 improvement would be effected by substituting the alternative—rarer
 expression for "in the evening"—လှိုင်လှိုင် literally, "below the sun."

In the end of line 2 an *aing* rhyme is required for လှိုင် at the end of
 line 3. လှိုင် or လှိုင်လှိုင် "one's own place or abode" is suggested.

For

လှိုင်လှိုင် လှိုင်လှိုင်လှိုင်
 therefore, read

လှိုင်လှိုင် လှိုင်လှိုင်လှိုင်

In line 4 a rhyme for နှိ in line 1 may be obtained by substituting
 for the third phrase

လှိုင်လှိုင်လှိုင်

"make their abode in plots of land in the fields."

The sense is improved by striking out လှိုင် which ought to mean
 "near," not "in" or "on."

VI.—SEPTEMBER.

မိပိတုတတ်-မြိတတ်ကျာရှိန်-ဗိုန်သူကိုတွဲ။
 တို့တာသာစွဲ-စွဲဝဲသေ့ဝဲအာ-ညးအာဗင်သူၼ်တ။
 ညာတ်ညးကိုညး-ရပိထးစွဲဝဲတိုၼ်-မိတ်ၼ်လန်။
 ပဲ့မိတ်ကွတ်တို့-လန်ပဲ့မိတ်-မိတ်ယးမိတ်သင်။

čäp kitau phot proa thot kyā dān pekòn sna kã ngoa
 klòm phēsā moa kloa sadoa ā nyeh ā pò smut
 nyāt nyeh kã nyeh ròp tah hno kdäng čāt kläng lenim
 pdoa čāt klòt ka-im lenim pdoa čāt plăt yeh plăt sò

When Pôt comes, the rain is plentiful, the wind is strong and they make war with the sun. The hundred and one races in company go and make offerings to the spirits. They see one another. They lay hold of trays, streamers and umbrellas. In the distraction of their minds they are distressed. In their hearts, secretly they smile. There is distress in my heart morn and eve.

1. သူ င.ပ. ကျာထောနဲသူ။ “The wind howls like an enemy.” (Asah p. 49).

2. တို့တာသာစွဲ။ *Cf.* Burmese လူမျိုးတရာတပါး။
 စွဲဝဲသေ့ဝဲ။ *စွဲဝဲ* according to the Dict. means “a company.” The vocabulary to the Asah gives its meaning as “to proceed in single file; to be in close order.” စွဲဝဲတို (Asah p. 23) means to “march in column.” စွဲဝဲသေ့ဝဲ is not in the Dict. and does not seem to occur in the Asah. If သေ့ဝဲ be not a mere rhyming increment, as သ် in ငွေသ် “flowers” seems to be, it may be connected with ထူ “middle.” The corruptions in this and the following lines are dealt with below.

3. တိုၼ်။ “umbrella.” Halliday has the form တိုၼ်။

ထန်။ “grief, distress,” gives quite the wrong sense. The word is repeated in line 4 and though in Mon epic poetry a word may rhyme with itself, in a short piece like the song such a rhyme cannot be called elegant.

†. တုတ်။ The Dict. gives the meaning “steal” only. The meaning “do secretly” is also common. *Cf.* တုတ်မင်မြေင် “stole away to herd buffaloes” (Rhymes from the Mon J. B. R. S. Vol. XV Part II p. 144) မိုး in Burmese has these two meanings.

မိတ်ယးမိတ်သင်။ မိတ် means “to be quenched.” Mr. Halliday writes “မိတ်ယးမိတ်သင် is an adverbial expression meaning

something like 'all the day long.' ” သံ does not give the required rhyme with ဝဲ in line 1.

To deal now with the corruptions apparent in this stanza : the rhyme scheme would be put right by the following substitutions :

For line 2, phrases 2 and 3, read

မပိသွတ်ဝဲဝဲအာ ဓါဓါဝါဝါ

“ make offering going in procession stepping two by two.”

For ဝနီ at the end of line 3—which does not give the required sense, the inoffensive ခပ်သိ “ all ” may be substituted.

In line 4, for phrase 3, substitute

ဟွံခွါတ်အဲ။ ။ ၂

Phrases 2 and 3 may then be translated : “ Distress in my heart is not extinguished.” The personal pronoun အဲ besides giving a rhyme to ဝဲ is really required in this line to indicate the change of person from the first phrase.

The substitution proposed in line 2 was suggested by the following passage (Asah p. 39) သေကာတွင်ဝဲဝဲ ဝဲဝဲဝါဝါ။ ပိင်မြိုင် ဝဟီ နိုင်လိဝါ ခဲဝဲ
“ The ministers walked in procession stepping one by one, sounding the gong, their legs moving in unison.” Halliday's translation (p. 149) is somewhat different. He appears to take ဝဲဝဲဝါဝါ as meaning “ one foot passing the other.” The ministers would probably walk in single file in order of seniority.

VII.—OCTOBER.

မိုဟ်တု၊ နှိတ် ကျင် နိုင် နိုင် ပိက်ကစွပ်။
ခင်ရှောင်ဆောင်ဆောင်၊ သွေးဟီသံ၊ လှုပ်သက်ကြင်။
ကျာပိုက်ကြိကြိ၊ ဂခံစီခေါ်နီ၊ သမန်ကြင်ဂင်။
မိုဟ်ကျင်တညွင်း၊ ခေးဝင်ညွင်နဲ။ နြိုတ်လဲရအဲ။

cāp kitau wòh tei kòh tung cāng tǎng pòk kamle
dait fwo chē chē sawah hī saloa lup sakoa sang
kyā pāk srim srim kećim bī ton samon sang keang
cāp klung tanyang deh wòin sapheang nai krüh lai ra oa.

When Woh comes, the earth is dry and bears the feet. Herons and paddy-birds make a noise. Water flows sluggishly. Flotsam drifts about and approaches the bank. Wind blows gustily : snipe scold along the river-shore. The dry season is reached. Men must hold official festival, but my heart is sorrowful.

2. သွး။ “ Probably a mistake for သွး “ fragments.”

ဝဲဝဲ။ “ Width, extent,” here used adverbially, ခဲ is “ to be wide.”

သဲ။ This word occurred in stanza V line 2.

Here it has its proper meaning လုပ်သဲခြင် “enter beside the bank approach the bank.”

3. ခြေ။ Not in Halliday. Wind is not characteristic of October. I have translated “gustily” which is merely a guess.

သမန်။ Halliday has သမောန်။ The pronunciation is identical.

ဂင်။ This the first syllable ဂင်ဂါ “Ganges”. Halliday points out (Asah p. 95 note) that ဂင်ဂါ is used of any great river and also of the sea.

4. နဲ။ probably a genitive governed by သဘင်။ The meaning would then be “official festivals.” သဘင်ခွီ occurs at Asah p. 61, used of the celebration at Prince Asash’s marriage.

Note that they *must hold* official festivals, whereas they *hold* the religious festivals referred to in the next stanza.

မြိုတ်။ means “to wrong, injure.” Mr. Halliday would read မြိုတ် “heart” and this reading has been followed in the translation.

လဲ။ Halliday’s Dict. gives the word only in the compound လေခံလဲ “to be anxious, distressed.”

ခဲ။ is not a perfect rhyme to ကခွင် in line 1. The Martaban pronunciation is *oa*. The Pegu pronunciation, however, appears to have been something like *ê*, which would give tolerable rhyme.

VIII.—NOVEMBER.

စိုပ်ရိတုတ္တိ၊ နိဗ္ဗာန်၊ နိဗ္ဗာန်၊ တွေ့တို့နိဗ္ဗာန်၊
ကာလဝံရော၊ ဘောဝေင်သဘင်၊ သင်အရည၊
ညးကိုခါနိက္ခာ၊ သင်္ဂါကထိုန်၊ လမိုန်ကာလ၊
အကိုသွာယျ၊ ခြံခွင်ဖြူလေခံ၊ မူရိန္ဒရော။

căp kitau kathän proa tom kyā dān ngoa tăn ayü
kāla wu’ rao khü wòin sapheang sang aranya
nyeh kā tăn klā sangā kathän lemün kāla
oa kā smāye tòh temüŋ se hom mu phā num rao

When Kat’on comes, rain stops, the wind is soft, the sun ascends in glory. At this time also while they hold festival in honour of the company of the Forest, they first give as offerings Upper Robes of *kathina* cloth continually. What profits it when I am sad for my sweet heart?

1. ခေါ် "fall" is probably a miswriting of ခြံ "cease"; the ° has occasionally the effect of shortening the vowel sound. There is an irregularity in the arrangement of the rhymes in this line, the ခြံ rhyme being continued through the three phrases.
2. သင်အရည "the order of the forest," might possibly mean Buddhist priests practising the 8th *dhutanga*— ခရီးရှိပုံ။ For a list of these austerities, thirteen in number, see Judson s. v. ရှုတင်။ More probably, however, the meaning is "ascetics" and the poet has in mind the ascetics composing the Buddhist priesthood. There were in India ascetics living in the forest before the Buddha's time and a generic term strictly applicable to them might have come to be applied to the members of the priesthood on its institution. The meaning of word အရည is incidentally discussed by Mr. Duroiselle and Prof. Pe Maung Tin in Vols. IX and X J. B. R. S. in notes on the derivation of the word *Ari*.
4. ဖြေဝံ။ Halliday's Dict. gives "to be sad of countenance." But at two places in the *Asah* (pp. 35 and 39) he translates "dejected, distressed in mind," which is the meaning required in the text.

IX.—DECEMBER

စိုပိမြေကွသို၊တင်ဆိုလောန်ဗွတ်၊တဝိုသရွှေ။
 ဩဝံဇွေင်တုန်ရော၊ယောကာလ၌၊ပင်ဖယျိုရတ်။
 ဩတ်မြန်ကလိင်၊စိင်ကွသနီ၊မြူကြိုဝန္တတ်။
 အဲကိုသ္မာဝမတ်၊ဒေဝစောတ်ပွိုင်၊ရာသွိုက်လှိုင်ရော။

čāp mraitkasā tangkhū lon penot tawā sòttū
 soe hnok taun rao khū kālā kòh tung teyòh ròt
 sèt pron kaloin cōin kla sathū pru krā kem-ot
 oa kã sno mot deh tečot kwoin rē stoit hloin rao

When Mroikkasaw comes, in brightness beyond measure at all times, the slow-ripening grain is then being generally reaped. The rhinoceros, the leopard, the wild buffalo, the elephant, the tiger cry, call, murmur and roar. I must say *ts ts* from impatience and miss the delight of my eyes. Where am I to sleep sound?

1. Halliday spells the name of the month ဖြေကသို။
 သရွှေ။ သဒ္ဓ means "voice" and gives no sense here. Read သဗ္ဗေ။ (Pali Sabbo) "all".
2. ဩဝံဇွေင်။ the long lived varieties of paddy, Burmese *Kaukkyi*. တုန် "again"; but the word often seems to be used to fill a gap.

For its conventional use to end a canto in epic poetry, see Halliday's Introduction to Asah, p. vii.

4. သွေ့ဝံ့မတ်။ သွေ့ဝံ့ means "rule" as in ယွံဒီးကိုသွေ့ဝံ့. "What is no" according to rule" (Asah, p. 11). For သွေ့ဝံ့ read ချီဝံ့။ ချီဝံ့မတ် means "an object of regard." Cf. Asah, p. 17 ယွံသေဝံ့ယွံနီ ခပ်ချီဝံ့မတ်။ "O Soai Yin Phaw, object of my two eyes". Cf. also p. 24 and Halliday's note at p. 102. A similar expression is ခချေဝံ့မတ် "brinjal of my eye" i.e. apple, or pupil (Asah, p. 30.)

ခစေဝတ်။ "say *ts ts*," an expression of impatience. Not in the Dict. but so explained by Mr. Halliday.

လှိုင်။ more correctly လှိုင်

X.—JANUARY.

မိုးဝိတုပုဟ်၊ ကျောဒုဟ်တဲလန်၊ ဗွန်သွပ်ဆော။
ကလဝံ့ရော၊ ဆောက္ကံဖတ်၊ ပြင်သောင်ရင်ညို။
တေက္ကံဖတ်၊ ပြင်သောင်တဲလန်၊ ခုန်ဖျံကျော။
သြိုဟ်ကောဝံ့ညို၊ နဲဒေဆာန်ညး၊ သိတ်ပဒေရော။

čap kitau pauh kyā tuh klai lòn pekòn sna pa čhao
kālā wu' rao khū pkao tečang preang dong rain kenyi
te' pkao tečang preang dong klai lòn khlòn phyāo kyā kyi
soeh kao wu' nyi nai ti čhān nyeh soit pa deh rao

When Poh comes, the violent wind searches in every direction and wages war, making contacts. At this time the fragrant bolbophyllum plants prepare their blossoms, bloom and deck themselves. These bolbophyllum plants preparing their blossoms on every hand spread abroad their scent. My heart, you love another and what can I do?

1. ဗွန်သွပ်။ See note on VI, 1.

ပဆော။ The translation "make contacts" is Mr. Halliday's. ဆော means "in pairs" ဆော့ဂုတ် is "a companion."

3. This line is hard. The repetitions from line 1 and line 2 make it suspect. တဲလန် cannot have the same meaning as in line 1 and apparently refers to the penetrating scent of the flower. ခုန် according to the dictionary means to "leave vacant" but this definition does not cover all its meanings. Thus in ခွဲတဲယွံခွဲတဲယွံ (Asah p. 1) which Halliday translates "not for a single day am I free from death," the meaning of ခုန် must be "send away, banish." ဖျံ usually means "take home, take back" but it may possibly mean "send back, send away," very

much the meaning of မွှေးပွင့်နီ ခွန် ဖျံ would thus mean "send away from itself, give out." ဖျံ appears in the Dict. as a noun meaning "poisoning, pain." But in the Asah it is found (*e.g.* pp. 6 and 35) coupled with မြိတ် "forest." မြိတ်ဖျံ probably meant "the foul forest," indicating primitive man's fear of the forest. ဖျံ alone, apparently with the meaning forest, occurs twice in the Asah. မြိတ်ဖျံ (p. 20) is translated by Halliday "woodland nymph" and his note at page 107—"I take ဖျံ for ချီ a woodland spirit"—seems unnecessary. မြိတ်ဖျံ at p. 41 he translates "forest denizens" and here, at least, ဖျံ must clearly mean "forest"; the context forbids the substitution of ချီ

4. မြိတ်လ် appears to be a variant of မြိတ် in VII, 4.

နဲ့ခဲး "Lady younger sister," *i.e.* "Sweetheart."

XI.—FEBRUARY.

မို့ဝိဝိတုမာ၊ ညးမာ်အေခွင်ခါနီ၊ လုံသမာန်ဟော။
ကာလဝံ့ရော၊ ယောညးလင်လး၊ တရးရေင်ကာနီ။
လွှာဟ်အဲစါနဲ့၊ ဆာန်တဲ၊ ဩဝဲအာ၊ ရာကောဉ်မာန်။
မြိတ်အာန်တနာနီ၊ ပွာန်မိတ္တ၊ သိက်ပဒေရော။

čāp kitau mait nyeh bait oh tăn lum sapān hao
kala wu' rao khū nyeh leang leh tarah reang kăn
lamuh oa ba nai čhān toi sai ā rē kao chop măn
soeh āntanān panān čittačē soit pa deh rao

When Maik comes they cut fuel for charity all along the road. At this time they distribute and present gifts together. Now that you and I, having loved, have parted, what plan can I make? My heart is distressed; there is mental conflict, what can I do?

1. မိုဝိအေခွင်ခါနီ။ "Refers to an old custom not often seen now. Small pieces of fuel were gathered and tied in bundles and brought to the pagoda or monastery where they were arranged in groups and fire set to them, sometimes by the monks and sometimes by the people. If joints of green bamboos were set in the midst, there was more fun with the loud popping noises made." (Mr. Halliday.)
2. လင်လး Apparently a mistake for လလး which is similar in meaning to တရး
3. အဲစါနဲ့။ ခါ "two" here means "with", as in ညးစါနဲ့ "she (the queen) and her maid. (Asah p. 40) နဲ့ may be used in addressing a woman, as in သိုအဲသိုနဲ့ (Asah page 18,—husband speaking to wife.)

4. အာနိတနာနိ။ I took this to be a corruption of Pali *Arādhana* "satisfaction", "accomplishment." Mr. Halliday says however, that he has noted the word in the sense of "distress of mind" and this interpretation has been adopted in the translation above.

XII—MARCH.

မိုးပေါ်ရဲရဲနီ၊ တွံတ္တိနီရဲဗျာင်း၊ ရေဝံတာင်သဒ္ဓေါ။
 အဝူ၊ တုန်ရော၊ ဃောဆုံပံက်တာင်၊ ရင်ရင်ဥတု။
 သနင်လဟူ၊ စက်စာနီအဲအင်၊ မြင်ပါင်လရ။
 မြိုဟ်ခွဲဇကု၊ နဲဇကုရောနီ၊ ရာဗျပ်မာနီရော။

čäp phòrakūn kwoa ptän ramyain dī tain sòttū
 a knu taun rao khū nyeh pòk thain rain tung utau
 saneang lehu čakcān ui ò krò pain letu
 soeh moa čekau nai cū rao rān rē chop mān rao

When P'awragūn comes, the cuckoo calls, the jungle-fowl utters his cry. The *Mesua ferrea* expands its petals and bears the season. The cricket says *lahu*, the cicada *ui-aw* and they play the fiddles of their mouths. If you will not have all my heart, what can I contrive?

1. ဇွဲ။ The Indian cuckoo : Halliday has ကပ်။

ကပ်။ a mistake for သာင် "to sound."

2. အဝူ။ This has been taken as the Burmese Gangaw, *Mesua ferrea* I cannot now find any authority for the identification. အဝူ is defined in Halliday's Dict. as "a flower, the petals of which are used in medicine." For Gangaw, see List of Trees, Shrubs etc. in Burma, p. 13. The pollen of the Gangaw is used medicinally. ရင်ဥတု။ Mr. Halliday inquired as to the meaning of this phrase and was told it meant "catches the dew." "Fertilises itself" is more probably the meaning. ရင်ကျော "bears the wind" occurs in Asah (p. 49) of a creeper called the *lapoai*.

3. စက်စာနီ။ is not in Halliday but appears in Stevens' English-Peguan vocabulary.

လဟူ၊ ဆဲအင်။ I have taken these as words imitating the cries of the insects. Cf. *Khatsip* imitating the cry of chickens and *pip pip* imitating the call of jungle cats at Asah p. 41. Mr. Halliday thinks that *lahu* and *ui-aw* may be the names of unidentified insects.

4. နဲဇကု။ "Lady great-grandmother" i.e. "Sweetheart." နဲဇကု။ at Asah p. 25 is used by an old woman in addressing her daughter. ခဲဇကု "little brother grandfather" at p. 49 is a form of address to a younger brother. လရ "Grandfather" is used by Indra, in the

disguise of an old man, in addressing the young prince Asah. The same idiom occurs in Burmese; *cf.* the use of မေဉ်း and ငါးမွေးဘဲ in Kogan Pyo 23 and 26 and U Kyaw Dun's note at 23 in which he quotes similar instances from Burmese literature. He also refers to the use of မောင် and ဘဲ as terms of endearment by parents to children. (မောင်-ရယ်။ ဘဲ-ရယ်စသည်ဖြင့် ချစ်စနိုး၍ ခေါ်ဝေါ်လျက်ပင်ရှိနေသေးသည်။) အဘေ and အမေ are similarly used to infant children.

ရန်နီ translated "have" means literally "buy" or more properly "offer for" The translation of this line, the key to which is to realise that ကေ does not mean "body" but is merely a numeral auxiliary, is Mr. Halliday's.

There is slight weakness of rhyme between phrases 1 and 2 of line 3, ဟူ is apparently intended to rhyme with အူ — *u* with *ui*. If လဟူ and အူအံ are, as taken in the translation, mimetic words, a rhyme may not have been intended. In the Mōn poem mentioned in the note on metre, the first verse opens with တီလေယောလေ။ ဩဝံဩဝံဩဝံ။ no attempt being made to provide a rhyme for the last syllable of the exclamation တီလေယောလေ။

J. A. STEWART.

Note.

At the request of Mr. Stewart I append a note dealing with one or two of his notes.

On page 142 I am not sure that he does full justice to my translation of the passage he cites from Asah. The phrase ခွံလပ်ပေ I translate, "had set aside for seed", and the other phrase ဟာမော "were making it a seed plant". The two phrases mean about the same thing in the end, though differently worded. Mr. Stewart's translation of the second phrase means much the same as mine.

The emendations have too many syllables. For ပဲ့ခိတ်ခွံခိတ် I suggest ပဲ့ခိတ်ခွံခိတ်။ As to the other phrase ဝအောင် should give way to word of one syllable.

On page 149 note on line 1, I suggest another possibility for တာဝံ။ It may be for တိဝံ "to play music", to suit the requirements of rhyme.

I feel grateful to Mr. Stewart for his fine study of this interesting poem and for his scholarly comments on my own work. It is good to see one's studies appreciated.

R. HALLIDAY.

THE SAKA ERA IN PAGAN.

Attention is invited to the Journal X, ii, 67 f, where I published the Pali text of the Shwegugyi Pagoda Inscription, Pagan, transliterated and translated from the book of Inscriptions of Pagan, Pinya and Ava 1892, pages 159-164. The concluding lines were omitted, as I was uncertain of the reading and I had no access to a good rubbing, nor had I read the stone itself. They occupy the last five lines of the stone and follow the printed 100 verses on line 41. Here is the text:—

l 41..... » Iti Śrītibhuvanādityapavaradhammarājena
satidhitimatigati

l 42. sampannena bodhisambhāragavesakena ratanattayabhattikena
nibbānagavesakena paṭiṭṭhāpitā ayaṃ silā

l 43. lekḥā ti » o » Śrī » gūhaṃ Baisākhamāsasyaṃ Catu(r)tthī kṛṣṇa-
pakṣake » śṭhāpitāṃ suryavāre tu nakṣa

l 44. trottaraśādhake » mrigarājakṣaṇe sākye tripaṇcāsāt saḥassrake » o »
gūhaṃ mārgasire māse ekāda

l 45. syaṃndha pakṣake » soṃyavārasya sājoge ditye indrāgni devate
nisthāpitāṃ idaṃ sākye tripaṇcāsāt saḥassrake » o »

In my preface and the verse translation of these concluding lines I took the *tripaṇcāsāt saḥassrake* of the last two lines as being 503, being misled by the book which reads the *tripaṇcāsāt saḥassrake* as *tripaṇcā sata rīhat o ke*, the last four syllables being a meaningless guess. I also completely overlooked the preceding word *sākye*. Now I find that the phrase *sākye tripaṇcāsāt saḥassrake* is the Sanskrit (there is more Sanskrit than Pali in these concluding lines) for 1053 saka era = 1131 A.D., that is, ten years earlier than 503 BE = 1141 A.D. Here we have the first and only instance of the saka era in the Pagan inscriptions. The full translation of the text is ;

“ Thus the writing on this stone is made by the King Śrītibhuvanādityadhammarāja, who is endowed with mindfulness, firmness, intelligence, character, who is a seeker of the constituents of enlightenment, who serves the three gems, who is a seeker of nirvana.

Prosperity ! The cave was begun on Sunday the 4th day of the dark half of the month of Vaisakha (when the moon was) in conjunction with the constellation Uttarāsadhaka and (the sun was) in leo in Saka year 1053.

This cave was completed on the 11th day of the dark half of the month of Margasira on Monday at the conjunction of the sun with the constellation Vaisakha in 1053 Saka year.”

PE MAUNG TIN.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

BURMA RESEARCH SOCIETY.

Minutes of a Meeting of the Executive Committee held on Wednesday the 13th July, 1932, at the Medical College, Rangoon, at 6-30 p.m.

PRESENT.

S. G. Grantham, Esq., B.A., I.C.S., (*Vice-President*) in the Chair.

Prof. Pe Maung Tin, M.A., B.Litt., I.E.S., *Vice-President*.

G. H. Luce, Esq., M.A., I.E.S., (*Honorary Librarian*).

U Tun Pe, M.A., B.L., M.L.C.

U Po Sein, A.T.M.

Mr. B. R. Pearn, M.A., (*Honorary Secretary*).

MINUTES.

1. Confirmed the Minutes of the previous Meeting on the 11th February, 1932.

2. Considered the disposal of the assets of the late Dictionary Sub-Committee, and resolved that the cash-balance be repayed to the Honorary Treasurer and be shown in the Society's Accounts as a liability under the "Dictionary Reserved Fund"; and all other permanent assets be offered to the University Dictionary Committee on loan; and the consumptive assets be placed at the disposal of that Committee for its use.

3. Considered the question of copying certain of the late Wetmasut Wundauk's Manuscripts, and resolved to enquire whether the Bernard Free Library will undertake this work; and resolved also to enquire whether certain of the manuscripts are available for purchase.

4. Considered Circular No. 3 dated the 19th March, 1932, appointing members of the Managing Sub-Committee and the Text Publication Sub-Committee for the current year, with the substitution of U E Cho for Mr. Furnivall in both cases.

5. Resolved to circulate to the General Committee for opinion a proposal by Mr. Luce that Rule 16 be amended to read "twenty-five" for "fifteen".

6. Approved the arrangements made by the Managing Sub-Committee for a general meeting to be held on the 28th July, 1932.

Dated Rangoon, 14th July, 1932.

B. R. PEARN,
Honorary Secretary.

Minutes of a Meeting of the Executive Committee, held on Wednesday, the 14th, December, 1932, at the Medical College, Godwin Road, Rangoon, at 6-30 p.m.

PRESENT.

The Hon'ble Mr. T. Couper, M.A., I.C.S. (President in the Chair)
 Prof. Pe Maung Tin, M.A., B. Litt., I.E.S., (Vice-President)
 A. Cassim, Esq., B.A., (Hony. Treasurer)
 U Po Sein, A.T.M.
 Meer Sulaiman, Esq., M.A., B.L.
 Saya Thein Gyi
 & Mr. B. R. Pearn, M.A., (Hony. Secretary)

MINUTES.

1. Confirmed the Minutes of the previous meeting held on the 13th, July, 1932.

2. Considered correspondence arising from Minute 5 of the previous meeting, and resolved.

(a) to recommend to the Annual General Meeting that Rule 16 be amended to read "twenty-five" for "fifteen"; and

(b) to publish in the Journal lists of subjects for investigation on the lines suggested by Mr. Duroiselle.

3. Recorded the thanks of the Society to Mrs. J. Stuart for a gift of books from the library of the late John Stuart, Esq.

4. Considered a proposal from the U.S.S.R. Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries for an exchange of publications; and resolved to send a copy of the last issue of the Journal, with a request for a catalogue of that Society's works, and for information in what language its works are published.

5. Resolved to consider further at the next meeting the disposal of the Society's office on the retirement of U Tha Win.

6. Fixed the date of the Annual General Meeting provisionally for the 23rd. January, 1933, a meeting of the Executive Committee to be held on the same evening immediately prior to the General Meeting; and resolved to invite members to contribute five-minute papers on the conclusion of the business of the meeting.

7. Resolved to expend Rs. 350 on copying a selection of the late Wetmasut Wundauk's Manuscripts, these copies to be sold to the Bernard Free Library when it shall have funds available for the purpose.

Rangoon, 14th December 1932.

B. R. PEARN,
Honorary Secretary.

LIST OF BOOKS RECEIVED.

*List of books presented to the Burma Research Society by the
JOHN STUART BEQUEST*

1. Ryley's Ralph Fitch.
2. Strachey's India, its administration and progress.
3. Fytche's Burma Past and Present 2 Vols.
4. Anderson's English Intercourse with Siam in the 17th Century.
5. Dr. Marks' Forty years in Burma.
6. Hunter's The India of the Queen and other essays.
7. Nisbet's Burma under British Rule and Before 2 Vols.
8. Cox's Burman Empire.
9. Lyall's British Dominion in India.
10. Anderson's Mandalay to Momein.
11. Bode's Pali Literature of Burma.
12. Wheeler's Mandalay.
13. Sangermano's The Burmese Empire.
14. Phayre's History of Burma.
15. Fisher's Through India and Burmah with pen and brush.
16. Gouger's Personal narrative of two years' imprisonment in Burma.
17. Krausse's The Far East.
18. Malleson's History of the French in India.
19. Scott's Burma.
20. Lilie's India in primitive Christianity.
21. Manucci's A Pepys of Mogul India.
22. Wright's Marco Polo's Travels.
23. Marshman's History of India 2 vols.
24. Wright's Early English adventurers in the East.
25. Brown's Burma as I saw it.
26. Crosthwaite's The Pacification of Burma.
27. Hyde's Parish of Bengal.
28. Colquhoun's China in Transformation.
29. Scott's Cursed Luck.
30. Robinson's Nugae Indicae selected from Zech Oriel's Note Book.
31. Snodgrass's Burmese War.
32. Clifford's Further India.
33. Ward's In Furthest Burma.
34. MacMahon's Far Cathay and Further India.
35. Judson's A Dictionary, English and Burmese.
36. Laurie's Our Burmese Wars.
37. Wheeler's History of India.
38. Caming's With Jungle Folk.
39. Elphinstone's History of India.
40. Dictionary, Burmese and English.

41. Buddhism, Vol. I, Nos. 3-4, Vol. II, No. 1.
42. Harmer's Story of Burma.
43. Hunter's Brief History of Indian People 12th ed.
44. Steel's India through the ages.
45. Russell's My Diary in India 2 vols.
46. Map of Burma.
47. Hunter's brief History of Indian people, 16th ed.
48. New Testament in Burmese.
49. Constable's Oriental Miscellany Vol I Bernier's Novels.
50. Gibbon's The Lawrence of the Punjab.
51. Scott O'Connor's Mandalay.
52. Holderman's People and Problems of India.
53. Purser's Christian Mission in Burma.
54. Scott's Burma.
55. Paske's Life and Travel in Lower Burma.
56. Paske's Myamma.
57. Gidumal's Behramji in Malabari.
58. Rao's Indian Biographical Dictionary.
59. Wilson's narrative of Burmese War in 1824-26.
60. MacKey's Shipwreck of the Juno.
61. Oldham's the Sun and the Serpent.
62. Denver's Portuguese in India 2 vols.
63. White's Political History of the events which led to the Burmese.
War.
64. Hunter's Thackeray in India.
65. Mason's Burma.
66. Wright's Early English Adventures in the East.
67. Dautremere's Burma under British Rule.
68. Shwe Yoe's The Burman—His life and notions.
69. Bigandet's Life of Gautama.
70. Taw Sein Kho's Burmese Sketches.
71. Hunter's Old Missionary.
72. Busteed's Echoes from Old Calcutta.
73. Malcolm's Indian pictures and problems.
74. Chirol's Indian Unrest.
75. Colquhoun's Across Chryse, 2 vols.
76. Scott's Burma.
77. Rawlison's Indian Historical Studies.



Alfred

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1827

"A book that is shut is but a block"

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